OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
United Provinces
OF THE
NETHERLANDS.

By Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE of *Shene*, in the County of *Surrey*, Baronet, Ambassador at the *Hague*, and at *Aix la Chapelle*, in the Year 1668.

The Fourth Edition Corrected and Augmented.

AMSTERDAM,
By *Stephen Swart*, on the W[illegible] side of the *Exchange*, [illegible]

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BRITAN
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THE PREFACE.

HAving lately seen the State of the United Provinces, *after a prodigious growth in Riches, Beauty, extent of Commerce, and number of Inhabitants, arrived at length to such a height (by the strength of their Navies, their fortifi'd Towns and standing Forces, with a constant Revenue proportion'd to the support of all this greatness), as made them the Envy of some, the Fear of others, and the Wonder of all their Neighbours.*

We have this Summer past, beheld the same State, in the midst of great appearing Safety, Order, Strength, and Vigor, almost ruin'd and broken to pieces in some few days, and by

very few blows; and reduced in a manner to its first principles of Weakneſs and Diſtreſs; expoſed, oppreſt, and very near at mercy. Their Inland Provinces ſwallowed up by an Invaſion, almoſt as ſudden and unreſiſted, as the Inundations to which the others are ſubject. And the remainders of their State rather kept alive by neglect or diſconcept of its Enemies, than by any ſtrength of Nature, or endeavours at its own recovery.

Now becauſe ſuch a greatneſs, and ſuch a fall of this State, ſeem Revolutions unparallel'd in any Story, and hardly conceived even by thoſe who have lately ſeen them; I thought it might be worth an idle mans time, to give ſome account of the Riſe and Progreſs of this Commonwealth, the cauſes of their Greatneſs, and the ſteps towards their fall: Which were all made by motions perhaps little taken notice of by common eyes, and almoſt un-

ndiscernable to any man that was not placed to the best advantage, and omething concern'd, as well as much nclin'd to observe them.

The usual Duty of Employments abroad, imposed not only by Custom, ut by Orders of State, made it fit or me to prepare some formal account of this Country and Government, after two years Embassie, in the midst of great Conjunctures and Negotiations among them. And such a Revolution as has since happen'd there, though it may have made these Discourses little important to His Majesty, or His Counsel; yet it will not have render'd them less agreeable to common eyes, who, like men that live near the Sea, will run out upon the Cliffs to gaze at it in a Storm, though they would not look out of their Windows to see it in a Calm.

Besides, at a time when the actions of this Scene take up so generally the eyes and discourses of their Neigh-

hours; and the Maps of their Country grow so much in request, I thought a Map of their State and Government would not be unwelcome to the World, since it is full as necessary as the others, to understand the late Revolutions and Changes among them. And as no man's Story can be well written till he is dead, so the account of this State could not be well given till its fall, which may justly be debated from the events of last Summer (whatever fortunes may further attend them), since therein we have seen the sudden and violent dissolution of that more popular Government, which had continued and made so much noise for above Twenty years in the world, without the exercise or influence of the Authority of the Princes of Orange, *a part so essential in the first Constitutions of their State. Nor can I wholly lose my pains in this Adventure, when I shall gain the ease of answering this way*

way at once, those many Questions I have lately been used to upon this occasion: which made me first observe and wonder, how ignorant we were generally in the Affairs and Constitutions of a Country so much in our eye, the common road of our Travels, as well as subject of our Talk; and which we have been of late not only curious, but concerned to know.

I am very sensible how ill a Trade it is to write, where much is ventur'd and little can be gain'd; since whoever does it ill, is sure of contempt, and the justliest that can be, when no man provokes him to discover his own follies, or to trouble the world. If he writes well, he raises the envy of those Wits that are possest of the Vogue, and are jealous of their preferment there, as if it were in Love, or in State, and have found that the nearest way to their own Reputation lies right or wrong, by the derision of other men. But however, I am not in

pain; for tis the affectation of praise that makes the fear of reproach: and I write without other design than of entertaining very idle men, and among them my self. For I must confess that being wholly useless to the Publick, and unacquainted with the cares of increasing Riches, (which busie the world:) being grown cold to the pleasures of younger or livelier men; and having ended the Entertainments of Building and Planting (which use to succeed them); finding little taste in common Conversation, and trouble in much Reading, from the care of my eyes (since an illness contracted by many unnecessary diligences in my Employments abroad), there can hardly be found an idler man than I; nor consequently one more excusable for giving way to such amusements as this, in the course of a private Life and Fortune; which as I know no man envies, so (I thank God) no man can reproach.

I am

I am not ignorant, that the vein of Reading never run lower than in this Age; and seldom goes further than the design of raising a Stock to furnish some Calling or Conversation. The desire of Knowledge being either laught out of doors by the Wit that pleases the Age; or beaten out by Interest, that so much possesses it: And the amusement of Books giving way to the liberties or refinements of Pleasure, that were formerly less known, or less avowed than now. Yet some there will also be found in the world, who ask no more at their idle hours, than to forget themselves. And whether that be brought about by drink or play, by Love or Business, or by some diversions as idle as this, 'tis all a case.

Besides, it may possibly fall out, at one time or other, that some Prince or great Minister may not be ill pleased in these kind of Memorials (upon such a subject), to trace the steps of Trade and Riches, of Order and

Power in a State; and those likewise of weak or violent Counsels, of corrupt or ill Conduct, of Faction or Obstinacy, which decay and dissolve the firmest Governments; That so by reflections upon Foreign Events, they may provide the better and the earlier against those at home, and raise their own Honour and Happiness by equal degrees with the Prosperity and Safety of the Nations they govern.

For under favour of those who would pass for wits in our Age, by saying things which David *tells us the fool said in his; and set up with bringing those Wares to Market, which (God knows) have been always in the world, though kept up in corners, because they used to mark their owners, in former Ages, with the Names of* Buffoons, Prophane *or* Impudent men; *who deride all Form and Order, as well as Piety and Truth; and under the notion of Fopperies, endeavour to dissolve the very*

very Bonds of all Civil Society; though by the favour and protection thereof, they themselves enjoy much greater proportions of Wealth and of pleasures, than would fall to their share if all lay in common, as they seem to design, (for then such Possessions would belong of right to the strongest and bravest among us.)

Under favour of such men, I believe it will be found at one time or other, by all who shall try, that whilst Humane Nature continues what it is, the same Orders in State, the same Discipline in Armies, the same Reverence for things Sacred, and respect of Civil Institutions, the same Vertues and Dispositions of Princes and Magistrates, derived by interest or imitation into the Customs and Humours of the people, will ever have the same effects upon the strength and Greatness of all Governments, and upon the Honour and Authority of those that Rule, as well as the

Happineſs and Safety of thoſe that Obey.

Nor are we to think Princes themſelves loſers, or leſs entertain'd, when we ſee them employ their time and their thoughts in ſo uſeful Speculations, and to ſo glorious ends: but that rather thereby they attain their true prerogative of being happier, as well as greater than Subjects can be. For all the pleaſures of Senſe that any man can enjoy, are within the reach of a private Fortune, and ordinary Contrivance; grow fainter with age, and duller with uſe; muſt be revived with interviſſions, and wait upon the returns of Appetite, which are no more at call of the Rich, than the Poor. The flaſhes of Wit and good Humour that riſe from the Vapours of Wine, are little different from thoſe that proceed from the heats of blood in the firſt approaches of Fevers or Frenzies; and are to be valued but as (indeed) they are the effects of Diſtem-

Distemper. *But the pleasures of Imagination, as they heighten and refine the very pleasures of Sense, so they are of larger extent, and longer duration. And if the most sensual man will confess there is a pleasure in pleasing, he must likewise allow there is good to a man's self in doing good to others. And the further this extends, the higher it rises, and the longer it lasts. Besides, there is Beauty in Order, and there are Charms in well-deserved Praise; and both are the greater, by how much greater the Subject; as the first appearing in a well-framed and well-governed State; and the other arising from noble and generous actions. Nor can any veins of good Humour be greater than those that swell by the success of wise Counsels, and by the fortunate events of Publick Affairs; since a man that takes pleasure in doing good to ten thousand, must needs have more than he that takes none*

but in doing good to himself.

But these thoughts lead me too far, and to little purpose; therefore I shall leave them for those I had first in my head concerning the State of the United Provinces.

And vvhereas the greatness of their Strength and Revenues, grevv out of the vastness of their Trade, into vvhich, their Religion, their Manners and Dispositions, their Scituation, and the form of their Government, vvere the chief Ingredients. And this last had been raised partly upon an old Foundation, and partly vvith Materials brought together by many and various Accidents; it vvill be necessary for the survey of this great Frame, to give some account of the Rise and Progress of their State, by pointing out the most remarkable occasions of the first, and period of the other. To discover the Nature and Constitu-

tions

ions of their Government in its several parts, and the motions of it from the first and smallest wheels. To observe what is peculiar to them in their Scituation or Dispositions, and what in their Religion; to take a Survey of their Trade, and the causes of it; of the Forces and Revenues which composed their Greatness; and the Circumstances and Conjunctures which conspired to their Fall. And these are the Heads that shall make the Order and Arguments in the several parts of these Observations.

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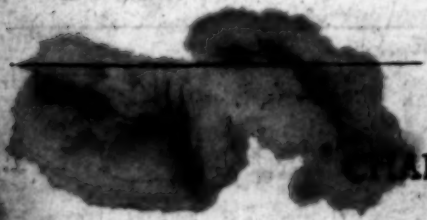

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the Rise and Progress of the United Provinces.

WHoever will take a view of the Rise of this Common-wealth, must trace it up as high as the first Commotions in the *Seventeen Provinces*, under the Dutchess of *Parma*'s Government; and the true causes of that more avowed and general Revolt in the Duke of *Alva*'s time. And to find out the natural Springs of those Revolutions, must reflect upon that sort of Government under which the Inhabitants of those Provinces lived for so many Ages past, in the subjection of their several Dukes or Counts; till by Marriages, Successions, or Conquest, they came to be united in the

the House of *Burgundy*, under *Philip*, surnamed *The Good*; and afterwards in that of *Austria*, under *Philip* Father of *Charles* the Fifth, and lastly, in the person of that great Emperor, incorporated with those vast Dominions of *Germany* and *Spain*, *Italy* and the *Indies*.

Nor will it be from the purpose on this search, to run a little higher into the Antiquities of these Countries; For though most men are contented only to see a River as it runs by them, and talk of the changes in it as they happen; when 'tis troubled, or when clear; when it drowns the Country in a Flood, or forsakes it in a Drowth: yet he that would know the nature of the Water, and the causes of those accidents (so as to guess at their continuance or return), must find out its source, and observe with what strength it rises, what length it runs,

runs, and how many small streams fall in, and feed it to such a height, as make it either delightful or terrible to the eye, and useful or dangerous to the Country about it.

The numbers and Fury of the Northern Nations under many different names, having by several Inundations broken down the whole frame of the *Roman* Empire, extended in their Provinces as far as the *Rhine*, either gave a birth, or made way for several Kingdoms and Principalities that have since continued in the parts of *Europe* on this side that River, which made the ancient limits of the *Gallick* and *German* Nations. The Tract of Land which we usually call the *Low-Countries*, was so wasted by the Invasions or Marches of this raging people (who past by them to greater Conquests), that the Inhabitants grew thin; and being secure of nothing they

they possest, fell to seek the support of their lives rather by hunting, or by violence, than by labour and industry; and thereby the grounds came to be uncultivated, and in the course of years turned either to Forrest, or Marshes; which are the two natural soils of all desolated Lands in the more temperate Regions. For by soaking of frequent showers, and the course of waters from the higher into lower grounds, when there is no issue that helps them to break out into a Channel, the flat Land grows to be a mixture of earth and water, and neither of common use nor passage to Man or Beast, which is called a Marsh. The higher, and so the drier parts, moistned by the Rain, and warm'd by the Sun, shoot forth some sort of Plants, as naturally as Bodies do some sorts of Hair; which being preserved by the desolateness of a place untrodden, as well

well as untill'd, grow to such Trees or Shrubs as are natural to the Soil, and those in time producing both food and shelter for several kind of Beasts, make the sort of Country we call a *Forrest*.

And such was *Flanders* for many years before *Charlemaign*'s time, when the power of the *Francs* having raised and establisht a great Kingdom of their own, upon the entire Conquest of *Gaul*, began to reduce the disorders of that Country to the form of a Civil, or (at least) Military Government; to make divisions and distributions of Lands and Jurisdictions, by the Bounty of the Prince, or t[illegible]er-vices of his chief Followers and Commanders; to one of whom, a great extent of this Land was given, with the title of *Forrester* of *Flanders*. This Office continued for several descents, and began to civilize the Country, by repressing

the

the violence of Robbers and Spoilers, who infested the woody and fast places, and by encouraging milder people to fall into Civil Societies, to trust to their Industry for subsistence, to Laws for protection, and to their Arms united under the care and conduct of their Governours, for safety and defence.

In the time of *Charlemaigne*, as some write; or as others, in that of *Charles the Bald*, *Flanders* was erected into a County, which changed the Title of *Forresters* for that of *Count*, without interrupting the Succession.

What the extent of this County was at first, or how far the Jurisdiction of *Forresters* reached, I cannot affirm; nor whether it only bordered upon, or included the lower parts of the vast Woods of *Ardenne*, which in *Charlemaign's* time was all Forrest as high as *Aix*, and

nd the rough Country for some eagues beyond it, and was used ommonly by that Emperor for is Hunting: This appears by the ncient Records of that City, which attribute the discovery, or t least retrieving the knowledge of hese hot Baths, to the fortune of hat Prince while he was Hunting; for his Horse poching one of his egs into some hollow ground, made way for the smoaking water o break out, and gave occasion for the Emperors building that Ci-y; and making it his usual Seat, nd the place of Coronation for the ollowing Emperors.

Holland being an Island made by he dividing branches of the anci-ent *Rhine*, and called formerly *Ba-tavia*, was esteemed rather a part of *Germany* than *Gaul* (between which it was seated), in regard of its being planted by the *Catti*, a great and ancient people of *Ger-many*,

many, and was treated by the *Romans* rather as an allied than subjected Province; who drew from thence no other Tribute beside Bands of Souldiers, much esteemed for their Valour, and joyned as Auxiliaries to their Legions in their *Gallick*, *German*, and *British* Wars.

'Tis probable this Island changed in a great measure Inhabitants and Customs, as well as names, upon the inroads of the barbarous Nations, but chiefly of the *Norman* and *Dane*, from whose Countries and Language the Names of *Holland* and *Zealand* seem to be derived. But about the year 860, a Son of the Count of *Frize*, by a Daughter of the Emperor *Lewis* the second, was by him instituted Count of *Holland*, and gave beginning to that Title; which running since that time through so many direct or collateral Successions and some Usurpa-

Usurpations, came to end at last in *Philip* the second, King of *Spain*, by the defection of the *United Provinces*.

Under these first *Foresters* and *Counts*, who began to take those wasted Countries and mixed people into their care, and to intend the growth, strength, and riches of their Subjects, which they esteemed to be their own; many old and demolished Castles were rebuilt, many new ones erected, and given by the Princes to those of their Subjects or Friends whom they most loved or esteemed, with large circuits of Lands for their support, and Seigneurial Jurisdiction over the Inhabitants. And this upon several easie conditions, but chiefly of attendance on their Prince at the necessary times of either honouring him in Peace, or serving him in War. Nay possibly, some of these Seigneuries and their Jurisdictions, may, as they pretend, have been the remains of some old Principalities in those

Countries among the *Gallick* and *German* Nations, the first Institutions whereof were lost in the immensity of time that preceded the *Roman* Discoveries or Conquest, and might be derived perhaps from the first Paternal dominion or concurrence of loose people into orderly Neighbourhoods, with a deference, if not subjection to the wisest or bravest among them.

Under the same Counts were either founded or restored many Cities and Towns; of which the old had their ancient Freedoms and Jurisdictions confirmed, or others annexed; and the new had either the same granted to them by example of the others, or great Immunities and Priviledges for the encouragement of Inhabitants to come and people in them; All these constitutions agreeing much in substance perhaps by imitation, or else by the agreeing nature of the people for whom, or by whom they were framed; but differing in form accord-

according to the difference of their Original, or the several Natures, Customs, and interests of the Princes, whose Concessions many of them were, and all their Permissions.

Another Constitution which entred deep into their Government, may be derived from another source. For those Northern Nations whose unknown Language and Countries perhaps made them be called *Barbarous* (though indeed almost all Nations out of *Italy* and *Greece* were stiled so by the *Romans*) but whose Victories in obtaining new Seats, and Orders in possessing them, might make us allow them for a better policied people than they appeared by the vastness of their multitude, or the rage of their Battels.

Wherever they pass'd and seated their Colonies and Dominions, they left a Constitution which has since been called in most *European* Languages, *The States*, consisting of three Orders, *Noble*, *Ecclesiastical* and

Popular, under the limited principality of one person, with the stile of *King*, *Prince*, *Duke*, or *Count*. The remainders at least, or traces hereof, appear still in all the Principalities founded by those people in *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*; and were of a piece with the present Constitutions in most of the great Dominions on t'other side the *Rhine*: And it seems to have been a temper first introduced by them between the Tyranny of the Eastern Kingdoms, and the Liberty of the *Grecian* or *Roman* Commonwealths.

'Tis true, the *Goths* were Gentiles when they first broke into the *Roman* Empire, till one great swarm of this people, upon treaty with one of the *Roman* Emperors, and upon concessions of a great tract of Land to be a Seat for their Nation, embraced at once the Christian Faith. After which, the same people breaking out of the limits had been allowed them, and by fresh numbers beating all down

where

where they bent their march; as they were a great means of propagating Religion in many parts of Europe where they extended their Conquests, so the zeal of these new Proselytes, warmed by the veneration they had for their Bishops and Pastors, and enriched by the spoils and possessions of so vast Countries, seem to have been the first that introduced the maintenance of the Churches and Clergy, by endowments of Lands, Lordships and Vassals, appropriated to them: for before this time the Authority of the Priesthood in all Religions seemed wholly to consist in the peoples opinion of their Piety, Learning and Vertues, or a reverence for their Character and mystical Ceremonies and Institutions; their Support, or their Revenues in the voluntary Oblations of pious men, the Bounty of Princes, or in a certain share out of the labours and gains of those who lived under their Cure, and not in any subjection of mens lives or fortunes, which be-

longed wholly to the Civil Power. And *Ammianus*, though he taxes the Luxury of the Bishops in *Valentinian*'s time, yet he speaks of their Riches which occasioned or fomented it, as arising wholly from the Oblations of the people. But the Devotion of these new Christians introducing this new form of endowing their Churches; and afterwards *Pepin* and *Charlemaign* King of the *Franks*, upon their victories in *Italy*, and the favour of the *Roman* Bishop to their Title and Arms, having annexed great Territories and Jurisdictions to that See: This example or custom was followed by most Princes of the Northern Races through the rest of *Europe*, and brought into the Clergy great possessions of Lands, and by a necessary consequence a great share of Temporal Power, from the dependances of their Subjects or Tenants; by which means they came to be generally one of the three Orders that composed the Assembly of the States in every Country. This

This constitution of the States had been established from time immemorial in the several Provinces of the *Low-Countreys*, and was often assembled for determining Disputes about succession of their Princes, where doubtful or contested; for deciding those of great Towns; for raising a Milice for the defence of their Countreys in the Wars of their Neighbours; for advice in time of dangers abroad, or discontents at home; but always upon the new Succession of a Prince, and upon any new Impositions that were necessary on the people. The use of this Assembly was another of those liberties whereof the Inhabitants of these Provinces were so fond and so tenacious. The rest, besides those ancient Priviledges already mentioned of their Towns, were concessions and graces of several Princes in particular exemptions or immunities, jurisdiction both in choice and exercise of Magistracy and Civil Judicature within themselves, or else in the cu-

ſtoms of uſing none but Natives i
Charges and Offices, and paſſing al
weighty affairs by the great Counſe
compoſed of the great Lords of th
Country, who were in a manner al
Temporal, there being but three Bi
ſhops in all the Seventeen Provinces
till the time of *Philip* the ſecond o
Spain.

The Revenues of theſe Prince
conſiſted in their ancient Demeſnes, i
ſmall Cuſtoms (which yet grew con
ſiderable by the greatneſs of Trade i
the Maritime Towns) and in the vo
luntary Contributions of their Sub
jects, either in the States, or in par
ticular Cities, according to the ne
ceſſities of their Prince, or the affe
ctions of the people. Nor were theſe
frequent; for the Forces of theſe
Counts were compoſed of ſuch
Lords, who either by their Govern
ments, or other Offices, or by th
tenure of their Lands, were obliged
to attend their Prince on horſe-back
with certain numbers of men, upo
al

all his Wars; or else of a Milice which was call'd *Les gens d'Ordonnance*, who served on foot, and were not unlike our Train-bands; the use, or at least stile whereof, was renewed in *Flanders* upon the last War with *France* in 1667. when the Count *Egmont* was made by the Governour, General *de gens d'Ordonnance*.

These Forces were defrayed by the Cities or Countries, as the others were raised by the Lords when occasion required; and all were licensed immediately when it was past, so that they were of little charge to the Prince. His Wars were but with other Princes of his own size, or Competitors to his Principality; or sometimes with the mutinies of his great Towns, short, though violent, and decided by one Battel or Siege; unless they fell into the quarrels between *England* and *France*; and then they were engaged but in the skirts of the War, the gross of it being waged between the two Kings, and these smaller Prin-

ces made use of for the credit of Alliance, or sometimes the commodiousness of a diversion, rather than for any great weight they made in the main of the affair.

The most frequent Wars of the Counts of *Holland*, were with the *Frisons*, a part of the old *Saxons*; and the fiercest battels of some of the Counts of *Flanders*, were with the *Normans* that past that way into *France*, and were the last of those Nations that have infested the more Southern parts of *Europe*. I have sometimes thought, how it should have come to pass, that the infinite swarm of that vast Northern-hive, which so often shook the world like a great Tempest, and overflowed it like a torrent, changing Names, and Customs, and Government, and Language, and the very face of nature, wherever they seated themselves; which upon record of story, under the name of *Gauls*, pierced into *Greece* and *Italy*, sacking *Rome*, and besieging the Capitol in

Camil-

Camillus his time; under that of the *Cimbers*, march'd through *France* to the very confines of *Italy*, defended by *Marius*; under that of *Huns* or *Lombards*, *Visigoths*, *Goths* and *Vandals*, conquered the whole Forces of the *Roman* Empire, sackt *Rome* thrice in small compass of years; seated their Kingdoms in *Spain* and *Africk*, as well as *Lombardy*; and under that of *Danes* or *Normans*, possest themselves of *England*, a great part of *France*, and even of *Naples* and *Sicily*. How (I say) these Nations, which seemed to spawn in every age, and at some intervals of time discharged their own native Countreys of so vast numbers, and with such terror to the world, should about seven or eight hundred years ago leave off the use of these furious expeditions, as if on a sudden they should have grown barren, or tame, or better contented with their own ill climates. But I suppose we owe this benefit wholly to the growth and progress of Christianity in the North,

by which early and undistinguish'd copulation, or multitude of Wives, were either restrained or abrogated: by the same means learning and civility got footing among them in some degree, and enclosed certain circuits of those vast Religions, by the distinctions and bounds of Kingdoms, Principalities, or Commonalties. Men began to leave their wilder lives, spent without other cares or pleasures than of food, or of lust, and betook themselves to the ease and entertainment of societies: With order and labour, riches began, and trade followed; and these made way for Luxury, and that for many diseases or ill habits of the body, which, unknown to the former and simpler ages, began to shorten and weaken both life and procreation. Besides, the divisions and circles of dominion occasioned Wars between the several Nations, though of one Faith; and those of the *Poles*, *Hungarians* and *Muscovites*, with the *Turks* or *Tartars*, made greater slaugh-

slaughters; and by these accidents I suppose the numbers of those fertil broods have been lessened, and their limits in a measure confined; and we have had thereby for so long together in these parts of the world, the honour and liberty of drawing our own blood, upon the quarrels of humour or avarice, ambition or pride, without the assistance or need of any barbarous Nations to destroy us.

But to end this digression, and return to the *Low-Countries*, where the Government lasted in the form and manner described (though in several Principalities) till *Philip* of *Burgundy*, in whom all the Seventeen Provinces came to be united.

By this great extent of a populous Countrey, and the mighty growth of Trade in *Bruges*, *Gant*, and *Antwerp*, attributed by *Comines* to the goodness of the Princes, and ease and safety of the people; both *Philip* and his Son *Charles the Hardy*, found themselves a Match for *France*, then

much weakened, as well by the lat
Wars of *England*, as the factions o
their Princes. And in the Wars wit
France, was the House of *Burgund*
under *Charles* and *Maximilian* o
Austria (who married his Daughte
and Heir,) and afterwards unde
Charles the Fifth, their Grand-child
almost constantly engaged; the
course, successes, and revolution
whereof are commonly known.

Philip of *Burgundy*, who began
them, was a good and wise Prince,
lov'd by his Subjects and esteemed by
his Enemies; and took his measures
so well, that upon the declining of
the *English* greatness abroad, by their
dissensions at home, he ended his
quarrels in *France*, by a Peace with
safety and honour. So that he took no
pretence from his Greatness, or his
Wars, to change any thing in the
forms of his Government: But
Charles the Hardy, engaged more
rashly against *France*, and the *Swit-
zers*, began to ask greater and fre-
quent

quent Contributions of his Subjects; which gain'd at first by the credit of his Father's Government and his own great designs, but spent in an unfortunate War, made his people discontented and him disesteemed, till he ended an unhappy life by an untimely death, in the Battel of *Nancy*.

In the time of *Maximilian*, several *German* Troops were brought down into *Flanders* for their defence against *France*; and in that of *Charles* the Fifth, much greater Forces of *Spaniards* and *Italians* upon the same occasion; a thing unknown to the *Low-Countrey-men* in the time of their former Princes. But through the whole course of this Emperor's Reign, who was commonly on the fortunate hand, his greatness and fame increasing together, either diverted or suppressed any discontents of his Subjects upon the increase of their payments, or the grievance of so many foreign Troops among them. Besides *Charles* was of a gentle and a generous

nature

nature; and being born in the *Low-Countreys*, was naturally kind and easie to that people, whose Customs and Language he always used when he was among them, and employed all their great men in the charges of his Court, his Government, or his Armies through the several parts of his vast Dominions; so that upon the last great action of his life, which was the resignation of his Crowns to his Son and Brother, he left to *Philip* the Second the Seventeen Provinces, in a condition as peaceable, and as loyal as either Prince or Subjects could desire.

Philip the Second coming to the possession of so many and great Dominions, about the year 1556. after some trial of good and ill fortune in the War with *France* (which was left him by his Father like an encumbrance upon a great Estate,) restored by the Peace of *Cambray* not only the quiet of his own Countreys, but in manner of all Christendom, which

was

was in some degree or other engaged in the quarrel of these Princes. After this he resolved to return into *Spain*, and leave the *Low-Countreys* under a subordinate Government, which had been till *Charles* the Fifth's time the constant Seat of their Princes, and shar'd the presence of that great Emperor with the rest of his Dominions. But *Philip* a Spaniard born, retaining from the Climate or Education of that Country, the Severeness and Gravity of the Nation, which the *Flemings* called reservedness and pride; conferring the Offices of his House, and the honour of his Counsel and confidence upon Spaniards, and thereby introducing their Customs, Habit, and Language into the Court of *Flanders*, continuing after the Peace, those *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces, and the demand of Supplies from the States, which the War had made necessary, and the easier supported; he soon left off being lov'd, and began to be feared by the Inhabitants of those Provinces. But

But *Philip* the Second thought not agreeing with the pomp and greatness of the house of *Austria*, already at the head of so mighty Dominions; nor with his designs of yet greater Empire, to consider the discontents or grievances of so small a Countrey; nor to be limited by their ancient forms of government: and therefore at his departure for *Spain*, and substitution of his natural Sister the Dutchess of *Parma*, for Governess of the *Low-Countreys*, assisted by the Ministry of *Granvel*; he left her instructed to continue the foreign Troops, and the demand of money from the States for their support, which was now by a long course of War grown customary among them, and the Sums only disputed between the Prince and the States: To establish the fourteen Bishops he had agreed with the Pope, should be added to the three that were anciently in the *Low-Countreys*; to revive the Edicts of *Charles* the Fifth against *Luther*,

Luther, publish'd in a Diet of the Empire about the year 1550, but eluded in the *Low-Countreys* even in that Emperor's time; and thereby to make way for the Inquisition with the same course it had received in *Spain*; of which the *Lutherans* here, and the *Moors* there were made an equal pretence. And these points, as they came to be owned and executed, made the first commotions of mens minds in the Provinces.

The hatred of the people against the *Spaniards*, and the insolencies of those Troops, with the charge of their support, made them lookt upon by the inhabitants in general, as the instruments of their oppression and slavery, and not of their defence, when a general Peace had left them no enemies; and therefore the States began here their complaints, with a general consent and passion of all the Nobles, as well as Towns and Countrey. And upon the delays that were contrived, or fell in; the States first refus-

refused to raise any more moneys either for the *Spaniards* pay, or their own standing Troops; and the people run into so great despair, that in *Zealand* they absolutely gave over the working at their Digues, suffering the Sea to gain every Tide upon the Countrey; and resolving (as they said) rather to be devoured by that Element, than by the Spanish Souldiers: So that after many disputes and intrigues between the Governess and the Provinces, the King upon her Remonstrances was induced to their removal; which was accordingly performed with great joy and applause of the people.

The erecting of fourteen new Bishops Sees, raised the next contest. The great Lords look'd upon this innovation as a lessening of their power, by introducing so many new men into the great Counsel. The Abbots (out of whose Lands they were to be endowed) pleaded against it as a violent usurpation upon the rights of the

the Church, and the will of the Dead, who had given those Lands to a particular use. The Commons murmured at it as a new degree of oppression upon their conscience or liberty, by the erecting so many new Spiritual Courts of Judicature, and so great a number of Judges, being seventeen for three, that were before in the Countrey; and those depending absolutely upon the Pope, or the King. And all men declaimed against it as a breach of the King's Oath at his accession to the Government, for the preserving the Church and the Laws in the same state he found them. However, this point was gain'd entirely by the Governess, and carried over the head of all opposition, though not without leaving a general discontent.

In the midst of these ill humours stirring in *Flanders*, the Wars of Religion breaking out in *France*, drove great numbers of *Calvinists* into all those parts of the *Low-Countreys* that confine upon *France*, as the troubles

of *Germany* had before of *Lutherans* into the Provinces about the *Rhine*, and the persecutions under Queen *Mary*, those of the Church of *England* into *Flanders* and *Brabant*, by the great commerce of this Kingdom with *Bruges* and *Antwerp*.

These accidents and neighbourhoods filled these Countreys in a small tract of time with swarms of the Reformed Professors; and the admiration of their zeal, the opinion of their doctrine and piety, the compassion of their sufferings, the infusion of their discontents, or the humour of the age, gain'd them every day many Proselytes in the *Low-Countreys*, some among the Nobles, many among the Villages, but most among the Cities, whose Trade and Riches were much increased by these new inhabitants; and whose interest thereby as well as conversation, drew them on to their favour.

This made work for the Inquisition, though moderately exercised by the

he prudence and temper of the Go-
verneſs, mediating between the rigor
of *Granvel*, who ſtrained up to the
higheſt his Maſter's Authority, and
he execution of his commands upon
ll occaſions; and the reſoluteneſs of
he Lords of the Provinces, to tem-
per the King's Edicts, and protect the
Liberties of their Countrey againſt
he admiſſion of this new and arbitra-
y Judicature, unknown to all anci-
nt laws and cuſtoms of the Coun-
rey; and for that, not leſs odious to
he people, than for the cruelty of
heir executions. For before the In-
quiſition, the care of Religion was in
he Bishops; and before that, in the
Civil Magiſtrates throughout the
Provinces.

Upon angry debates in Counſel,
but chiefly upon the univerſal Mini-
ſtry of *Granvel*, a *Burgundian* of mean
birth, grown at laſt to be a Cardinal
nd more famous for the greatneſs of
is parts, than the goodneſs of his
ife, the chief Lords of the Coun-
trey

trey (among whom the Prince of *Orange*, Counts *Egmont* and *Horn*, the Marquess of *Berghen* and *Montigny*, were most considerable) grew to so violent and implacable a hatred of the Cardinal (whether from passion or interest) which was so universally spread through the whole body of the people, either by the causes of it, or the example; that the Lords first refused their attendance in Counsel, protesting not to endure the sight of a man so absolute there, and to the ruine of their Country: and afterwards petitioned the King in the name of the whole Countrey, for his removal: upon the delay whereof, and the continuance of the Inquisition, the people appeared upon daily occasions and accidents, heated to that degree, as threatned a general combustion in the whole body, whenever the least flame should break out in any part.

But the King at length consented to *Granvel*'s recess, by the opinion of the

the Dutchess of *Parma*, as well as the pursuit of the Provinces, whereupon the Lords re-assumed their places in Counsel, Count *Egmont* was sent into *Spain* to represent the Grievances of the Provinces; and being favourably dispatch'd by the King, especially by remitting the rigor of the Edicts about Religion, and the Inquisition: all noise of discontent and tumult was appeased, the Lords were made use of by the Governess in the Counsel, and conduct of affairs; and the Governess was by the Lords both obeyed and honoured.

In the beginning of the year 1565, there was a Conference at *Bayonne* between *Katharine* Queen-mother of *France*, and her Son *Charles* the Ninth (though very young) with his Sister *Isabella* Queen of *Spain*: in which no other person but the Duke of *Alva* interven'd, being deputed thither by *Philip*, who excused his own presence, and thereby made his Interview pass for an effect or

pression of kindness between the Mo-
ther and her Children. Whether
great Resolutions are the more sus-
spected, where great secresie is ob-
served; or it be true, what the Prince
of *Orange* affirmed to have by acci-
dent discovered, That the extirpation
of all Families which should profess
the New Religion in the *French* or
Spanish Dominions, was here agreed
on, with mutual assistance of the two
Crowns; 'Tis certain, and was own-
ed, that matters of Religion were the
subject of that Conference: and that
soon after, in the same year, came Let-
ters from King *Philip* to the Dutchess
of *Parma*, disclaiming the interpre-
tation which had been given to his
Letters by Count *Egmont*; declaring
His pleasure was, that all Heretick
should be put to death without re-
mission: That the Emperor's Edicts
and the Council of *Trent* should be
published and observed; and com-
manding, That the utmost assistance
of the Civil Power should be given
the Inquisition. Whe

When this was divulged at first, the astonishment was great throughout their Provinces; but that soon gave way to their rage, which began to appear in their looks, in their speeches, their bold meetings and libels; and was increased by the miserable spectacles of so many executions upon account of Religion. The constancy of the sufferers, and compassion of the beholders, conspiring generally to lessen the opinion of guilt or crime, and heighten a detestation of the punishment and desire of revenge, against the authors of that Counsel, of whom the Duke of *Alva* was esteemed the chief.

In the beginning of the year 1566, began an open mutiny of the Citizens in many Towns, hindring Executions, and forcing Prisons and Officers; and this was followed by a confederacy of the Lords, never to suffer the Inquisition in the *Low-Countreys*, as contrary to all Laws both Sacred and Prophane, and exceeding the cruel-

of all former Tyrannies. Upon which all resolutions of force or rigor grew unsafe for the Government, now too weak for such a revolution of the people; and on the other side, *Brederode* in confidence of the general favour, came in the head of two hundred Gentlemen, through the Provinces to *Bruxelles*, and in bold terms petitioned the Governess for abolishing the Inquisition, and Edicts about Religion; and that newones should be fram'd by a Convention of the States.

The Governess was forced to use gentle Remedies to so violent a Disease; to receive the Petition without show of the resentment she had at heart, and to promise a representation of their desires to the King; which was accordingly done: But though the King was startled with such consequences of his last commands, and at length induced to recall them; yet whether by the slowness of his nature, or the forms of the *Spanish* Court,

Court, the Answer came too late: and as all his former Concessions, either by delay or testimonies of ill-will or meaning in them, had lost the good grace; so this lost absolutely the effect, and came into the *Low-Countreys* when all was in flame by an insurrection of the meaner people through many great Towns of *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Utrecht*; who fell violently upon the spoil of Churches, and destruction of Images, with a thousand circumstances of barbarous and brutish fury; which with the Institution of Consistories and Magistrates in each Town among those of the Reformed profession, with publick confederacies and distinctions, and private contributions agreed upon for the support of their common cause, gave the first date in this year of 1566. to the Revolt of the *Low-Countreys*.

But the Nobility of the Country, and the richest of the people in the Cities, though unsatisfied with the Go-

Government, yet feeling the effects, and abhorring the rage of popular tumults, as the worst mischief that can befall any State; and encouraged by the arrival of the King's Concessions, began to unite their Counsels and Forces with those of the Governess, and to employ themselves both with great vigor and loyalty, for suppressing the late Insurrections that had seized upon many, and shaked most of the Cities of the Provinces; in which the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* were great Instruments, by the authority of their great Charges (one being Governour of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the other of *Flanders*); but more by the general love and confidence of the people: till by the reducing of *Valenciennes*, *Maestricht* and the *Burse* by Arms; the submission of *Antwerp* and other Towns; the defection of Count *Egmont* from the Counsels of the confederate Lords (as they were called); the retreat of the Prince of *Orange* into

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to *Germany*, and the death of *Brederode*, with the news and preparations of King *Philip*'s sudden journey into the *Low-Countreys*, as well as the prudence and moderation of the Dutchess in governing all these circumstances, the whole estate of the Provinces was perfectly restored to its former peace, obedience, and at least appearance of loyalty.

King *Philip*, whether having never really decreed his journey into *Flanders*, or diverted by the pacification of the Provinces, and apprehension of the *Moors* rebelling in *Spain*, or a distrust of his Son Prince *Charles* his violent passions and dispositions, or the expectation of what had been resolved at *Bayonne*, growing ripe for execution in *France*, gave over the discourse of seeing the *Low-Countreys*; but at the same time took up the resolution for dispatching the Duke of *Alva* thither at the head of an Army of ten thousand Veterane *Spanish* and *Italian* Troops, for the assistance

of the Governess, the execution of the Laws, the suppression and punishment of all who had been authors or fomenters of the late Seditions.

This result was put suddenly in execution, though wholly against the advice of the Dutchess of *Parma* in *Flanders*, and the Duke of *Feria* (one of the chief Ministers) in *Spain*; who thought the present peace of the Provinces ought not to be invaded by new occasions; nor the Royal Authority lessened, by being made a party in a War upon his Subjects; nor a Minister employed where he was so professedly both hating and hated, as the Duke of *Alva* in the *Low-Countreys*.

But the King was unmovable; so that in the end of the year 1567, the Duke of *Alva* arrived there with an army of ten thousand, the best *Spanish* and *Italian* Souldiers, under the command of the choicest Officers which the Wars of *Charles* the Fifth, or *Philip* the Second had bred up in *Europe*;

Europe; which with two thousand *Germans* the Dutchess of *Parma* had raised in the last tumults, and under the command of so old and renowned a General as the Duke of *Alva*, made up a Force, which nothing in the *Low-Countreys* could look in the face with other eyes, than of astonishment, submission, or despair.

Upon the first report of this Expedition, the Trading-people of the Towns and Countrey began in great numbers to retire out of the Provinces; so as the Dutchess wrote to the King, that in few days above an hundred thousand men had left the Countrey, and withdrawn both their Money and goods, and more were following every day: so great antipathy there ever appears between Merchants and Souldiers; whilst one pretends to be safe under Laws, which the other pretends shall be subject to his Sword, and his Will. And upon the first action of the Duke of *Alva* after his arrival, which was the seiz-

ing Count *Egmont* and *Horn*, as well as the suspected death of the Marquess of *Berghen*, and imprisonment of *Montigny* in *Spain* (whither some months before they had been sent with Commission and Instruction from the Dutchess), she immediately desired leave of the King to retire out of the *Low-Countreys*.

This was easily obtained, and the Duke of *Alva* invested in the Government, with powers never given before to any Governour: A Counsel of twelve was erected for trial of all Crimes committed against the King's Authority, which was called by the people *The Counsel of Blood*. Great numbers were condemned and executed by sentence of this Counsel, upon account of the late Insurrections; more by that of the Inquisition, against the parting-advise of the Dutchess of *Parma*, and the exclamations of the people at those illegal Courts. The Towns stomached the breach of their Charters, the people

of their Liberties, the Knights of the *Golden-Fleece* the Charter of their Order, by these new and odious Courts of Judicature: all complain of the disuse of the States, of the introduction of Armies, but all in vain: The King was constant to what he had determined; *Alva* was in his nature cruel and inexorable, the new Army was fierce and brave, and desirous of nothing so much as a Rebellion in the Countrey; the people were enraged, but awed and unheaded; all was seizure and [illegible], confiscation and imprisonment, blood and horror, insolence and dejection, punishments executed, and mediated revenge: The smaller branches were lopt off apace, the great ones were longer a hewing down. Count *Egmont* and *Horn* lasted several months, but at length in spight of all their services to *Charles* the Fifth, and to *Philip*, as well as of their new merits in the quieting of the Provinces, and of so great Supplications and Intercessions

as were made in their favour both in *Spain* and in *Flanders*, they were publickly beheaded at *Bruxelles*, which seemed to break all patience in the people; and by their end, to give those commotions a beginning, which cost *Europe* so much Blood, and *Spain* a great part of the *Low-Countrey* Provinces.

After the process of *Egmont* and *Horn*, the Prince of *Orange* who was retired into *Germany*, was summoned to his Trial for the same crimes which the others had been accused; and upon his not appearing, was condemned, proclaimed Traitor, and his whole estate (which was very great in the Provinces, and in *Burgundy*) seized upon as forfeited to the King. The Prince treated in this manner while he was quiet and unarmed in *Germany*, employs all his credit with those Princes engaged to him by Alliance, or by common fears of the House of *Austria*; throws off all obedience to the Duke of *Alva*, raises Forces, joyns with

with great numbers flocking to him out of the Provinces; all enraged at the Duke of *Alva*'s cruel and arbitrary government, and resolved to revenge the Count *Egmont*'s death (who had ever been the darling of the people). With these Troops he enters *Friezeland*, and invades the outward parts of *Brabant*, receives succors from the Protestants of *France* then in arms under the Prince of *Condé*. And after many various encounters and successes, by the great conduct of *Alva* and valour of his Veterane Army, being hindred from seizing upon any Town in *Brabant* (which both of them knew would shake the fidelity of the Provinces), he is at length forced to break up his Army, and to retire into *Germany*. Hereupon *Alva* returns in triumph to *Bruxelles*; and, as if he had made a conquest instead of a defence, causes out of the Cannon taken from *Lewis* of *Nassau*, his Statue to be cast in Brass, treading and insulting upon two smaller Statues

that represented the two estates of the *Low-Countreys*; and this to be erected in the Cittadel he had built at *Antwerp* for the absolute subjecting of that rich, populous, and mutinous Town.

Nothing had raised greater indignation among the *Flemings*, than the publick sight and ostentation of this Statue, and the more, because they knew the boast to be true, finding their ancient liberties and priviledges (the inheritance of so many Ages, or bounty of so many Princes) all now prostrate before this one man's Sword and Will, who from the time of *Charles* the Fifth had ever been esteemed an enemy of their Nation, and author of all the Counsels for the absolute subduing their Countrey.

But *Alva* mov'd with no rumors, terrified with no threats from a broken and unarmed people, and thinking no measures nor forms were any more necessary to be observed in the

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Low-Countreys; pretends greater sums are necessary for the pay and reward of his victorious Troops, than were annually granted upon the King's request, by the States of the Provinces: and therefore demands a general Tax of the hundredth part of every man's estate in the *Low-Countreys*, to be raised at once: And for the future, the twentieth of all immovables, and the tenth of all that was sold.

The States with much reluctancy consent to the first as a thing that ended at once; but refused the other two, alledging the poverty of the Provinces, and the ruine of trade. Upon the Dukes persisting, they petition the King by Messengers into *Spain*, but without redress; draw out the year in contests, sometimes stomachful, sometimes humble with the Governor; till the Duke, impatient of further delay, causes the Edict, without consent of the States, to be published at *Bruxelles*. The people re-

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fuse to pay, the Souldiers begin to levy by force; the Towns-men all shut up their Shops; the people in the Countrey forbear the Market, so as not so much as bread or meat is to be bought in the Town. The Duke is enraged, and calls the Souldiers to arms, and commands several of the Inhabitants, who refused the payments, to be hanged that very night upon their Sign-posts, which nothing moves the obstinacy of the people. And now the Officers and the Guards are ready to begin the Executions, when news comes to Town of the taking of the *Briel* by the *Geuses*, and of the expectation that had given of a sudden Revolt in the Province of *Holland*.

This unexpected blow struck the Duke of *Alva*; and foreseeing the consequences of it, because he knew the stubble was dry, and now he found the fire was fallen in, he thought it an ill time to make an end of the Tragedy in *Brabant*, whilst a new

new Scene was opened in *Holland*; and so giving over for the present his Taxes and Executions, applies his thoughts to the suppression of this new enemy that broke in upon him from the Sea; and for that reason the bottom and reach of the design, as well as the nature and strength of their Forces, were to the Duke the less known, and the more suspected. Now because this seizure of the *Briel* began the second great commotion of the *Low-Countries* in 1570, and that which indeed never ended but in the loss of those Provinces, where the death of the *Spanish* and Royal Government, gave life to a new Common-wealth: It will be necessary to know what sort of men, and by what accidents united, and by what fears or hopes emboldned, were the first authors of this adventure.

Upon *Bredered*'s delivering a Petition to the Dutchess of *Parma*, against the Inquisition, and for some liberty in point of Religion; those persons which

which attended him, looking mean in their cloaths and their garb, were called by one of the Courtiers at their entrance into the Pallace, *Geuses*, which signifies beggars: a name, though raised by chance or by scorn, yet affected by the party as an expression of humility and distress, and used ever after by both sides as a name of distinction, comprehending all who dissented from the *Roman* Church, how different soever in opinion among themselves.

These men spread in great numbers through the whole extent of the Provinces, by the accidents and dispositions already mentioned; after the appeasing of their first Sedition, were broken in their common Counsels; and by the cruelty of the Inquisition, and rigor of *Alva*, were in great multitudes forced to retire out of the Provinces, at least such as had means or hopes of subsisting abroad: Many of the poorer and more desperate, fled into the Woods of the upper Countreys

treys (where they are thick and wild), and liv'd upon ſpoil; and in the firſt deſcent of the Prince of *Orange* his Forces, did great miſchiefs to all ſcatter'd parties of the Duke of *Alva*'s Troops in their march through thoſe parts. But after that attempt of the Prince ended without ſucceſs, and he was forced back into *Germany*, the Count of *Marck*, a violent and implacable enemy to the Duke of *Alva* and his Government, with many others of the broken Troops (whom the ſame fortune and diſpoſition had left together in *Friezeland*), mann'd out ſome Ships of ſmall force, and betook themſelves to Sea; and with Commiſſions from the Prince of *Orange*, began to prey upon all they could maſter, that belonged to the *Spaniards*. They ſometimes ſheltered, and watered, and ſold their Prizes in ſome Creeks or ſmall Harbours of *England*, though forbidden by Qu. *Elizabeth* (then in peace with *Spain*); ſometimes in the River *Ems*, or ſome

ſmall

small Ports of *Friezeland*; till at length, having gain'd considerable riches by these adventures, whether to sell, or to refresh; whether driven by storm, or led by design (upon knowledge of the ill blood which the new Taxes had bred in all the Provinces) they landed in the Island of *Briel*, assaulted and carried the Town, pull'd down the Images in the Churches, professed openly their Religion, declared against the Taxes and tyranny of the *Spanish* Government, and were immediately followed by the revolt of most of the Towns of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *West-Friezeland*, who throughout the *Spanish* Garrisons, renounced their obedience to King *Philip*, and swore fidelity to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Prince returned out of *Germany* with new Forces; and making use of this fury of the people, contented himself not with *Holland* and *Zealand*, but march'd up into the very heart of the Provinces, within five

five leagues of *Bruxelles*, seizing upon *Mechlin*, and many other Towns, with so great consent, applause, and concourse of people, that the whole *Spanish* Dominion seemed now ready to expire in the *Low Countreys*, if it had not been revived by the Massacre of the Protestants at *Paris*; which contrived by joynt Counsels with King *Philip*, and acted by a *Spanish* party in the Court of *France*, and with so fatal a blow to the contrary Faction, encouraged the Duke of *Alva*, and dampt the Prince of *Orange* in the same degree; so that one gathers strength enough to defend the heart of the Provinces, and the other retires into *Holland*, and makes that the seat of the War.

This Country was strong by its nature and seat among the Waters that encompass and divide it; but more by a rougher sort of people at that time, less softned by trade or by riches; less used to grants of money and taxes; and proud of their ancient

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fame recorded in the *Roman* Stories, of being obstinate defenders of their Liberties, and now most implacable haters of the *Spanish* name.

All these dispositions were increased and hardned in the War that ensued under the Duke of *Alva*'s conduct, or his Son's; by the slaughter of all innocent persons and sexes, upon the taking of *Naerden*, where the houses were burnt, and the walls levelled to the ground: by the desperate defence of *Haerlem* for ten months, with all the practises and returns of ignominy, cruelty and scorn on both sides; while the very Women listed themselves in companies, repaired breaches, gave alarms, and beat up quarters, till all being famish'd, four hundred Burgers (after the surrender) were kill'd in cold blood, among many other examples of an incensed Conqueror; which made the humor of the parties grow more desperate, and their hatred to *Spain* and *Alva* incurable.

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The same army broken and forced to rise from before *Alcmaer*, after a long and fierce siege in *Alva*'s time; and from before *Leyden* in the time of *Requisenes* (where the Boors themselves opened the Sluyces, and drown'd the Countrey, resolving to mischief the *Spaniards* at the charge of their own ruine), gave the great turn to affairs in *Holland*.

The King grows sensible of danger, and apprehensive of the total defection of the Provinces; *Alva* weary of his Government, finding his violent counsels and proceedings had raised a spirit, which was quiet before he came, and was never to be laid any more. The Duke is recalled, and the War goes on under *Requisenes*; who dying suddenly, and without provisions made by the King for a Successor, the Government, by customs of the Countrey, devolved by way of interim upon the great Counsel, which lasted some time by the delay of *Don John* of *Austria*'s com-

coming; who was declared the new Governour.

But in this interim the strength of the Disease appears; for upon the mutiny of some *Spanish* Troops for want of their pay, and their seizing *Alost*, a Town near *Bruxelles*, the people grow into a rage, the Tradesmen give over their Shops, and the Countrey-men their labour, and all run to Arms: In *Bruxelles* they force the Senate, pull out those men they knew to be most addicted to the *Spaniards*, kill such of that Nation as they meet in the streets, and all in general cry out for the expulsion of Foreigners out of the *Low-Countreys*, and the assembling of the States; to which the Counsel is forced to consent. In the mean time the chief persons of the Provinces enter into an agreement with the Prince of *Orange*, to carry on the common affairs of the Provinces by the same Counsels; so as when the Estates assembled at *Ghent*, without any contest they agreed

greed upon that act which was called *The Pacification of Ghent*, in the year 1576, whereof the chief Articles were, the expulsion of all foreign Souldiers out of the Provinces, restoring all the ancient forms of Government, and referring matters of Religion in each Province to the Provincial Estates; and that for performance hereof the rest of the Provinces should for ever be confederate with *Holland* and *Zealand*. And this made the first period of the *Low-Country* troubles, proving to King *Philip* a dear experience how little the best conduct and boldest Armies are able to withstand the torrent of a stubborn and enraged people, which ever bears all down before it, till it comes to be divided into different Channels by arts or by chance; or till the Springs, which are the humors that fed it, come to be spent, or dry up of themselves.

The foreign Forces refusing to depart, are declared Rebels; whereup-

on the *Spanish* Troops force and plunder several Towns, and *Antwerp* among the rest (by advantage of the Cittadel), with equal courage and avarice; and defend themselves in several Holds from the Forces of the States, till *Don John*'s arrival at *Luxemburg*, the only Town of the Provinces where he thought himself safe, as not involved in the defection of the rest.

The Estates refuse to admit him without his accepting and confirming the Pacification of *Ghent*; which at length he does by leave from the King, and enters upon the Government with the dismission of all foreign Troops, which return into *Italy*. But soon after *Don John*, whether out of indignation to see himself but a precarious Governour, without force or dependance; or desiring new occasions of fame by a War; or instructed from *Spain* upon new Counsels, he takes the occasion of complementing Queen *Margaret* of *Navar* upon

on her journey out of *France* to the *Spaw*, and on a sudden seizes upon the Castle of *Namur*. Whereupon the Provinces for the third time throw off their obedience, call the Prince of *Orange* to *Bruxelles*, where he is made Protector of *Brabant* by the States of that Province, and preparations are made on both sides for the War: While *Spain* is busie to form new Armies, and draw them together in *Namur* and *Luxemburg*, the only Provinces obedient to that Crown; and all the rest agree to elect a Governour of their own, and send to *Matthias* the Emperor's Brother, and offer him the charge.

At this time began to be formed the Malecontent-party in the *Low-Countreys*; which though agreeing with the rest in their hatred to the *Spaniards*, and defence of their Liberties and Laws; yet were not inclin'd to shake off their Allegiance to their Prince, nor change their old and establish'd Religion: And these

were headed by the Duke of *Arefchot*, and several great men; the more averse from a general defection, by emulation or envy of the Prince of *Orange* his greatness, who was now grown to have all the influence and credit in the Counsels of the League.

By the assistance of this party after *Don John*'s sudden death, the Duke of *Parma* succeeding him, gain'd strength and reputation upon his coming to the Government, and an entrance upon that great scene of glory and victory, which made both his person so renowned, and the time of his Government signalized by so many Sieges and Battels, and the reduction of so great a part of the body of the Provinces to the subjection of *Spain*.

Upon the growth of this Party, and for distinction from them, who pursuing a middle and dangerous Counsel, were at length to become an accession to one of the extremes: The

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more Northern Provinces meeting by their Deputies at *Utrecht*, in the year 1579, framed that act or Alliance, which was ever after called *The Union of Utrecht*; and was the original constitution and frame of that Commonwealth, which has since been so well known in the world by the name of *The United Provinces.*

This Union was grounded upon the *Spaniards* breach of the Pacification of *Ghent*, and new Invasion of some Towns in *Gelderland*; and was not pretended to divide these Provinces from the generality, nor from the said Pacification; but to strengthen and pursue the ends of it, by more vigorous and united Counsels and Arms.

The chief force of this Union consists in these points drawn out of the Instrument it self.

The Seven Provinces unite themselves so, as if they were but one Province, and so as never to be divided by Testament, Donation, Exchange,

Sale, or Agreement; reserving to each particular Province and City, all Priviledges, Rights, Customs and Statutes; in adjudging whereof, or differences that shall arise between any of the Provinces, the rest shall not intermeddle further, than to intercede towards an agreement.

They bind themselves to assist one another with life and fortunes against all force and assault made upon any of them, whether upon pretence of Royal Majesty, of restoring Catholick Religion, or any other whatsoever.

All Frontier-Towns belonging to the Union, if old, to be fortified at the charge of the Province where they lie; if new, to be erected at the charge of the Generality.

All Imposts and Customs from three months to three months, to be offered to them that bid most; and with the Incomes of the Royal Majesty, to be employed for the Common Defence.

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All Inhabitants to be listed and trained within a month, from 18 to 60 years old. Peace and War not to be made without consent of all the Provinces. Other cases that concern the management of both, by most voices. Differences that shall arise upon the first, between the Provinces, to be submitted to the Stadtholders.

Neighbouring-Princes, Lords, Lands and Cities, to be admitted into the Union by consent of the Provinces.

For Religion, those of *Holland* and *Zealand* to act in it as seems good unto themselves. The other Provinces may regulate themselves according to the tenor establish'd by *Matthias*, or else as they shall judge to be most for the peace and welfare of their particular Provinces; provided every one remain free in his Religion, and no man be examined or entrapped for that cause, according to the Pacification of *Ghent*.

In case of any dissension or differences between Provinces, if it concern one in particular, it shall be accommodated by the others; if it concern all in general, by the Stadtholders: in both which cases, sentence to be pronounced within a month, and without Appeal or Revision.

The States to be held as has been formerly used; and the Mint in such manner as shall hereafter be agreed by all the Provinces.

Interpretation of these Articles to remain in the States; but in case of their differing, in the Stadtholders.

They bind themselves to fall upon and imprison any that shall act contrary to these Articles; in which case no Priviledge nor Exemption to be valid.

This act was signed by the Deputies of *Gelderland*, *Zutphen*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and the Omlands of *Friz*, *Jan.* 23. 1579. but was not signed by the Prince of *Orange* till *May*

May following; and with this ſignification, judging that by the ſame the Superiority and Authority of Arch-Duke *Matthias* is not leſſened.

In the ſame year this Union was entred and ſigned by the Cities of *Ghent*, *Nimmegue*, *Arnhem*, *Leewarden*, with ſome particular Nobles of *Friezeland*, *Venlo*, *Ypres*, *Antwerp*, *Breda*, and *Bruges*. And thus theſe Provinces became a Commonwealth, but in ſo low and uncertain a ſtate of affairs, by reaſon of the various motions and affections of mens minds, the different ends and intereſts of the ſeveral parties, eſpecially in the other Provinces, and the mighty power and preparations of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to oppreſs them, that in their firſt Coin they cauſed a Ship to be ſtamped, labouring among the Waves without Sails or Oars, and *Incertum quo fata ferant.*

I thought ſo particular a deduction neceſſary to diſcover the natural cauſes of this Revolution in the Low-

Countreys, which has since had so great a part, for near an hundred years, in all the actions and negotiations of Christendom; and to find out the true incentives of that obstinate love for their Liberties, and invincible hatred for the *Spanish* Nation and Government, which laid the foundation of this Common-wealth; And this last I take to have been the stronger passion, and of the greater effect, both in the bold Counsels of contradicting their Union, and the desperate resolutions of defending it. For not long after, the whole Counsel of this new State being prest by the extremities of their affairs, passing by the form of Government in the way of a Commonwealth, made an earnest and solemn offer of the Dominion of these Provinces both to *England* and *France*; but were refused by both Crowns: And though they detain'd the name of a Free People, yet they soon lost the ease of the Liberties they contended for, by the absoluteness of

of their Magistrates in the several Cities and Provinces, and by the extreme pressure of their Taxes, which so long a War with so mighty an enemy made necessary for the support of their State.

But the hatred of the *Spanish* Government under *Alva*, was so universal, that it made the Revolt general through the Provinces, running through all Religions, and all Orders of men, as appeared by the Pacification of *Ghent*; till by the division of the Parties, by the powers of so vast a Monarchy as *Spain* at that time, and by the matchless conduct and valour of the Duke of *Parma*. This humour, like poison in a strong constitution, and with the help of violent Physick, was expell'd from the heart, which was *Flanders* and *Brabant* (with the rest of the ten Provinces) into the outward Members; and by their being cut off, the Body was saved. After which, the most enflamed spirits, being driven by the

Arms of *Spain*, or drawn by the hopes of liberty and safety, into the *United Provinces* out of the rest, the hatred of *Spain* grew to that heighth, that they were not only willing to submit to any new Dominion, rather than return to the old; but when they could find no Master to protect them, and their affairs grew desperate, they were once certainly upon the Counsel of burning their great Towns, wasting and drowning what they could of their Countrey, and going to seek some new seats in the *Indies*. Which they might have executed, if they had found Shipping enough to carry off all their numbers, and had not been detained by the compassion of those which must have been left behind, at the mercy of an incensed and conquering Master.

The *Spanish* and *Italian* Writers content themselves to attribute the causes of these Revolutions to the change of Religion, to the native stubbornness of the people, and to the am-

ambition of the Prince of *Orange*: But Religion without mixtures of ambition and intereſt works no ſuch violent effects; and produces rather the examples of conſtant ſufferings, than of deſperate actions. The nature of the people cannot change of a ſudden, no more than the climate which infuſes it; and no Countrey hath brought forth better Subjects, than many of theſe Provinces, both before and ſince theſe Commotions among them: And the ambition of one man could neither have deſigned nor atchieved ſo great an adventure, had it not been ſeconded with univerſal diſcontent: Nor could that have been raiſed to ſo great an heighth and heat, without ſo many circumſtances as fell in from an unhappy courſe of the *Spaniſh* Counſels, to kindle and foment it. For though it had been hard to Head ſuch a Body and give it ſo ſtrong a principle of life, and ſo regular motions, without the accident of ſo great a Governour in the Pro-

vinces, as Prince *William* of *Orange*; a man of equal abilities in Counsel and in Arms; cautious and resolute, affable and severe, supple to occasions, and yet constant to his ends; of mighty revenues and dependance in the Provinces, of great credit and alliances in *Germany*; esteemed and honoured abroad, but at home infinitely lov'd and trusted by the people, who thought him affectionate to their Countrey, sincere in his professions and designs, able and willing to defend their liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any ambition of his own. Yet all these qualities might very well have been confin'd to the duty and services of a Subject, as they were in *Charles* the Fifth's time; without the absence of the King, and the peoples opinion of his ill-will to their Nation and their Laws; without the continuance of Foreign Troops after the Wars were ended; the erecting of the new Bishops Sees, and introducing the Inquisition; the

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sole Ministry of *Granvel*, and exclusion of the Lords from their usual part in Counsels and Affairs; the government of a man so hated as the Duke of *Alva*; the rigor of his prosecutions, and the insolence of his Statue: and lastly, without the death of *Egmont*, and the imposition of the tenth and twentieth part, against the legal forms of Government in a Countrey, where a long derived Succession had made the people fond and tenacious of their ancient Customs and Laws.

These were the seeds of their hatred to *Spain*, which increasing by the course of about threescore years War, was not allayed by a long succeeding Peace, but will appear to have been an ingredient into the Fall, as it was into the Rise of this State; which having been thus planted, came to be conserved and cultivated by many accidents and influences from abroad: But those having had no part in the Constitution of their State, nor the

frame

frame of their Government; I will content my self to mention only the chief of them, which most contributed to preserve the infancy of this Commonwealth, and make way for its growth. The causes of its succeeding greatness and riches being not to be sought for in the events of their Wars, but in the institutions and orders of their Government, their Customs and Trade, which will make the Arguments of the ensuing Chapters.

When *Don John* threw off the Conditions he had at first accepted of the Pacification of *Ghent*, and by the surprise of *Namur* broke out into Arms; the Estate of the Provinces offer'd the Government of their Countrey to *Matthias* Brother to the Emperor, as a temper between their return to the obedience of *Spain*, and the popular Government which was moulding in the Northern Provinces. But *Matthias* arriving without the advice or support of the Emperor, or credit

credit in the Provinces; and having the Prince of *Orange* given him for his Lieutenant-General, was only a cypher, and his Government a piece of Pageantry, which past without effect, and was soon ended: So that upon the Duke of *Parma*'s taking on him the Government, some new protection was necessary to this Infant-State, that had not legs to support it against such a storm as was threatned upon the return of the *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces, to make the Body of a formidable Army, which the Duke of *Parma* was forming in *Namur* and *Luxemburg*.

Since the Conference of *Bayonne* between the Queen-Mother of *France*, and her Daughter Queen of *Spain*; those two Crowns had continued in the Reign of *Francis* and *Charles*, to assist one another in the common design there agreed on, of prosecuting with violence those they called the Hereticks, in both their Dominions. The Peace held constant, if not kind,

between

between *England* and *Spain*; so as King *Philip* had no Wars upon his hands in Christendom during these Commotions in the *Low-Countreys*: And the boldness of the Confederates in their first Revolt and Union, seemed greater at such a time, than the success of their Resistances afterwards, when so many occasions fell in to weaken and divert the Forces of the *Spanish* Monarchy.

For *Henry* the third coming to the Crown of *France*, and at first only fetter'd and control'd by the Faction of the *Guises*, but afterwards engaged in an open War (which they had raised against him upon pretext of preserving the Catholick Religion, and in a conjunction of Counsels with *Spain*) was forced into better measures with the *Hugonots* of his Kingdom, and fell into ill intelligence with *Philip* the Second, so as Queen *Elizabeth* having declined to undertake openly the Protection of the *Low-Countrey* Provinces, it was by the concurring

curring resolution of the States, and the consent of the *French* Court, devolved upon the Duke of *Alençon*, Brother to *Henry* the Third.

But this Prince entred *Antwerp* with an ill presage to the *Flemings*, by attempt which a *Biscainer* made the same day upon the Prince of *Orange*'s life, shooting him, though not mortally, in the head; and he continued his short Government with such mutual distastes between the *French* and the *Flemings* (the heat and violence of one Nation agreeing ill with the customs and liberties of the other) that the Duke attempting to make himself absolute master of the City of *Antwerp* by force, was driven out of the Town, and thereupon retired out of the Countrey with extreme resentment of the *Flemings*, and indignation of the *French*; so as the Prince of *Orange* being not long after assassin'd at *Delph*, and the Duke of *Parma* increasing daily in reputation and in force, and the Male-content

tent party falling back apace to his obedience, an end was presaged by most men to the affairs of the Confederates.

But the root was deeper, and not so easily shaken: for the *United Provinces*, after the unhappy Transactions with the *French* under the Duke of *Alençon*, reassumed their Union in 1583. binding themselves, in case by fury of the War any point of it had not been observed, to endeavour from that time to see it effected, in case any doubt had happened, to see it clear'd, and any difficulties, composed: And in regard the Article concerning Religion had been so fram'd in the Union, because in all the other Provinces besides *Holland* and *Zealand*, the *Romish* Religion was then used, but now the *Evangelical*; it was agreed by all the Provinces of the Union, that from this time in them all, the Evangelical Reformed Religion should alone be openly preached and exercised.

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They were so far from being broken in their designs by the Prince of *Orange*'s death, that they did all the honour that could be to his memory, substituted Prince *Maurice* his Son, though but sixteen years old, in all his Honours and Commands, and obstinately refused all overtures that were made them of Peace; resolving upon all the most desperate actions and sufferings, rather than return unthe *Spanish* obedience.

But these spirits were fed and heightned in a great degree, by the hopes and countenance given them about this time from *England*: For Q. *Elizabeth*, and *Philip* the Second, though they still preserved the name of peace, yet had worn out in a manner the effects as well as the depositions of it, whilst the *Spaniard* fomented and assisted the Insurrections of the *Irish*, and Queen *Elizabeth* the new Commonwealth in the *Low-Countreys*; though neither directly, yet by Countenance, Money, voluntary

tary Troops, and ways that were equally felt on both sides.

King *Philip* had lately increased the greatness of his Empire, by the Inheritance or Invasion of the Kingdoms of *Portugal*, upon King *Sebastian*'s loss in *Africa*; But I know not whether he had increas'd his Power, by the accession of a Kingdom, with disputed Title, and a discontented People, who could neither be used like good Subjects and governed without Armies; nor like a conquered Nation and so made to bear the charge of their forced Obedience: But this addition of Empire, with the vast Treasure flowing every year out of the *Indies*, had without question raised King *Philip*'s ambition to vaster designs; which made him embrace at once the protection of the League in *France* against *Henry* the Third and Fourth, and the Donation made him of *Ireland* by the Pope, and so embarque himself in a War with both those Crowns, while he

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was bearded with the open Arms and Defiance of his own Subjects in the *Low-Countreys*.

But 'tis hard to be imagined how far the ſpirit of one great man goes in the fortunes of any Army or State. The Duke of *Parma* coming to the Government without any footing in more than two of the ſmalleſt Provinces, collecting an Army from *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the broken Troops of Countrey left him by *Don John*, having all the other Provinces confederated againſt him, and both *England* and *France* beginning to take open part in their defence; yet by force of his own Valour, Conduct, and the Diſcipline of his Army, with the diſ-intereſſed and generous qualities of his mind, winning equally upon the Hearts and Arms of the revolted Countreys, and piercing through the Provinces with an uninterrupted courſe of Succeſſes, and the recovery of the moſt important Towns in *Flanders*; at laſt by the taking

taking of *Antwerp* and *Groningue*, reduced the affairs of the Union to so extreme distress, that being grown destitute of all hopes and succors from *France* (then deep engaged in their own Civil Wars), they threw themselves wholly at the feet of Qu. *Elizabeth*, imploring her protection, and offering her the Sovereignty of their Countrey. The Queen refused the Dominion, but enter'd into Articles with their Deputies in 1585, obliging her self to very great Supplies of Men and of Moneys, lent them upon the security of the *Briel*, *Flushing*, and *Ramekins*; which were performed, and Sir *John Norrice* sent over to command her Forces; and afterwards in 87, upon the War broken out with *Spain*, and the mighty threats of the *Spanish* Armada, she sent over yet greater Forces under the Earl of *Leicester*, whom the States admitted, and swore obedience to him, as Governour of their United Provinces.

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But this Government lasted not long, distastes and suspicions soon breaking out between *Leicester* and the States; partly from the jealousie of his affecting an absolute Dominion and arbitrary disposal of all Offices; but chiefly of the Queens intentions to make a Peace with *Spain*, and the easie loss of some of their Towns by Governours placed in them by the Earl of *Leicester*, increased their discontents. Notwithstanding this ill intercourse, the Queen re-assures them in both those points, disapproves some of *Leicester*'s proceedings, receives frank and hearty assistances from them in her Naval Preparations against the *Spaniards*; and at length, upon the disorders increasing between the Earl of *Leicester* and the States, commands him to resign his Government, and release the States of the Oath they had taken to obey him. And after all this had past, the Queen easily sacrificing all particular resentments to the interest of her Crown,

continued her Favour, Protection, and Assistances to the States, during the whole course of her Reign, which were return'd with the greatest deference and veneration to her person, that was ever paid by them to any foreign Prince, and continues still to her name in the remembrance, and frequently in the mouths of all sorts of people among them.

After *Leicester*'s departure, Prince *Maurice* was by the consent of the Union chosen their Governour, but with a reservation to Qu. *Elizabeth*; and enter'd that Command with the hopes, which he made good in the execution of it for many years; proving the greatest Captain of his age, famous particularly in the Discipline and Ordonnance of his Armies, and the ways of Fortification by him first invented or perfected, and since his time imitated by all.

But the great breath that was given the States in the heat of their affairs, was by the sharp Wars made by Qu. *Eliza-*

Elizabeth upon the *Spaniards* at Sea in the *Indies*, and the Expedition of *Lisbon* and *Cadiz*, and by the declining-affairs of the League in *France*, for whose support *Philip* the Second was so passionately engaged, that twice he commanded the Duke of *Parma* to interrupt the course of his Victories in the *Low-Countreys*, and march into *France* for the relief of *France* and *Paris*; which much augmented the renown of this great Captain, but as much impaired the state of the *Spanish* affairs in *Flanders*. For in the Duke of *Parma*'s absence, Prince *Maurice* took in all the places held by the *Spaniard* on th'other side the *Rhine*, which gave them entrance into the United Provinces.

The Succession of *Henry* the Fourth to the Crown of *France*, gave a mighty blow to the designs of King *Philip*; and a much greater, the general obedience and acknowledgment of him upon his change of Religion. With this King the States began to enter a

confidence and kindness, and the more by that which interceded between him and the Queen of *England*, who had all their dependance during her life; but after her death, King *Henry* grew to have greater credit than ever in the United Provinces; though upon the decay of the *Spanish* Power under the Ascendant of this King, the States fell into very early jealousies of his growing too great and too near them in *Flanders*.

With the Duke of *Parma* died all the Discipline, and with that, all the Fortunes of the *Spanish* Arms in *Flanders*; the frequent mutinies of their Souldiers, dangerous in effect and in example, were more talkt of, than any other of their actions, in the short Government of *Mansfield*, *Ernest*, and *Fuentes*; till the old discipline of their Armies began to revive, and their fortune a little to respire under the new Government of Cardinal *Albert*, who came into *Flanders* both Governour and Prince of

of the *Low-Countreys*, in the head of a mighty Army drawn out of *Germany* and *Italy*, to try the last effort of the *Spanish* power, either in a prosperous War, or at least in making way for a necessary Peace.

But the choice of the Arch-Duke and this new Authority, had a deeper root and design than at first appear'd: for that mighty King, *Philip* the second, born to so vast Possessions, and to so much vaster Desires; after a long dream of raising his head into the clouds, found it now ready to lie down in the dust: His body broken with age and infirmities, his mind with cares and distemper'd thoughts, and the royal servitude of a solicitous life; he begun to see in the glass of time and experience, the true shapes of all humane greatness and designs; and finding to what airy figures he had hitherto sacrificed his health, and ease, and the good of his life, he now turn'd his thoughts wholly to rest and quiet, which he had never yet al-

lowed either the world or himself: His designs upon *England*, and his *Invincible Armada*, had ended in smoak; those upon *France*, in events the most contrary to what he had proposed; and instead of mastering the liberties, and breaking the stomach of his *Low-Countrey* Subjects, he had lost seven of his Provinces, and held the rest by the tenure of a War, that cost him more than they were worth. He had made lately a Peace with *England*, and desir'd it with *France*; and though he scorn'd it with his revolted Subjects in his own name, yet he wish'd it in another's; and was unwilling to entail a quarrel upon his Son, which had cross'd his Fortunes, and busied his thoughts all the course of his Reign. He therefore resolved to commit these two designs to the management of Arch Duke *Albert*, with the stile of Governour and Prince of the *Low-Countreys*; to the end that if he could reduce the Provinces to their old subjection, he should govern them

govern them as *Spanish* Dominions; if that was once more in vain attempted, he should by a Marriage with *Clara Isabella Eugenia* (King *Philip*'s beloved Daughter) receive those Provinces as a Dowry, and become the Prince of them, with a condition only of their returning to *Spain*, in case of *Isabella*'s dying without issue. King *Philip* believed that the presence of a natural Prince among his Subjects, that the Birth and Customs of Arch-Duke *Albert* being a *German*, the generous and obliging dispositions of *Isabella*, might gain further upon this stubborn people, than all the force and rigor of his former Counsels: and at the worst, that they might make a Peace, if they could not a War, and without interessing the honour and greatness of the *Spanish* Crown.

In pursuit of this determination, like a wise King, while he intended nothing but peace, he made preparations as if he design'd nothing but

War; knowing that his own desires of peace would signifie nothing, unless he could force his enemies to desire it too. He therefore sent the Arch-Duke into *Flanders*, at the head of such an Army, that believing the peace with *France* must be the first in order, and make way for either the War or Peace afterward in the *Low-Countreys*, he march'd into *France*, and took *Amiens* the chief City of *Picardy*, and thereby gave such an alarm to the *French* Court as they little expected, and had never received in the former Wars. But while *Albert* bent the whole force of the War upon *France*, till he determin'd it in a Peace with that Crown, Prince *Maurice* who had taken *Groningue* in the time of *Ernest*, now mastered *Linghell*, *Groll*, and other places in *Overyssel*, thereby adding those Provinces entire, to the body of the Union; and at *Albert*'s return into *Flanders*, entertain'd him with the Battel of *Newport*, won by the desperate cou-

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rage of the *English* under Sir *Francis Vere*, where *Albert* was wounded, and very near being taken.

After this loss the Arch-Duke was yet comforted and relieved, by the obsequious affections and obedience of his new Subjects, so far as to resolve upon the Siege of *Ostend*; which having some time continued, and being almost disheartned by the strength of the place, and invincible courage of the Defendants, he was recruited by a body of eight thousand *Italians*, under the Marques *Spinola*, to whom the prosecution of this Siege was committed. He took the place after three years Siege, not by any want of men or provisions within (the Haven and relief by Sea being open all the time;) but perfectly for want of ground, which was gain'd foot by foot, till not so much was left, as would hold men to defend it; a great example how impossible 'tis to defend any Town that cannot be relieved by an Army strong enough to raise the Siege.

Prince *Maurice*, though he could not ſave *Oſtend*, made yet amends for its loſs, by the taking of *Grave* and *Sluyce*; ſo as the *Spaniards* gain'd little but the honour of the enterpriſe: and *Philip* the Second being dead about the time of the Arch-Dukes and Dutcheſſes arrival in *Flanders*, and with him the perſonal reſentment of that War, the Arch-Duke by conſent of the *Spaniſh* Court, began to apply his thoughts wholly to a Peace; which another circumſtance had made more neceſſary than any of thoſe already mentioned.

As the *Dutch* Commonwealth was born out of the Sea, ſo out of the ſame Element it draws its firſt ſtrength and conſideration, as well as afterwards its riches and greatneſs: For before the Revolts, the Subjects of the *Low-Countreys*, though never allowed the Trade of the *Indies*, but in the *Spaniſh* Fleets, and under *Spaniſh* Covert, yet many of them had in that manner made the Voyages,

ages, and became skilful Pilots, as well as verſt in the ways, and ſenſible of the infinite gains of that Trade. And after the Union, a greater confluence of people falling down into the United Provinces, than could manage their ſtock, or find employment at Land; great multitudes turn'd their endeavours to Sea; and having loſt the Trade of *Spain* and the *Streights*, fell not only into that of *England*, *France*, and the Northern Seas, but ventur'd upon that of the *Eaſt Indies*, at firſt with ſmall force and ſucceſs; but in courſe of time, and by the inſtitution of an *Eaſt-India* Company, this came to be purſued with ſo general application of the Provinces, and ſo great advantage, that they made themſelves maſters of moſt of the Colonies and Forts planted there by the *Portuguezes* (now Subjects of *Spain*.) The *Dutch* Sea-men grew as well acquainted with thoſe vaſt Seas and Coaſts, as with their own; and *Holland* became the great Magazine of al

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the Commodities of those Eastern Regions.

In the *West-Indies* their attempts were neither so frequent nor prosperous, the *Spanish* plantations there being too numerous and strong; but by their multitude of Shipping set out with publick or private Commissions, they infested the Seas, and began to wait for, and threaten the *Spanish* Indian Fleets, and sometimes to attempt their Coasts in that new world (which was to touch *Spain* in the most sensible part,) and gave their Court the strongest motives to endeavour a Peace, that might secure those Treasures in their way, and preserve them in *Spain*, by stopping the issue of those vast sums which were continually transmitted to entertain the *Low-Country* Wars.

These respects gave the first rise to a Treaty of Peace, the proposal whereof came wholly from the *Spaniards*; and the very mention of it could hardly at first be fastned upon the

the States; nor could they ever be prevail'd with to make way for any negotiation by a suspension of Arms, till the Arch-Duke had declared, he would treat with them as with free Provinces, upon whom, neither he nor *Spain* had any pretence. However, the affair was pursued with so much art and industry on the Arch-Dukes part, and with so passionate desires of the *Spanish* Court, to end this War, that they were content to treat it at the *Hague*, the seat of the States-General; and for the greater honour and better conduct of the whole business, appointed the four chief Ministers of the Arch-Dukes, their Commissioners to attend and pursue it there; who were, their Camp-Master General *Spinola*, the President of the Counsel, and the two Secretaries of State and of War in *Flanders*.

On the other side, in *Holland*, all the paces towards this Treaty were made with great coldness and arro-

gance, raising punctilious difficulties upon every word of the Arch-Duke's Declaration of treating them as Free-Provinces, and upon *Spain*'s Ratification of that form; and forcing them to send Expresses into *Spain* upon every occasion, and to attend the length of these returns. For the prosperous success of their Arms at Land, in the course of above thirty years War, and the mighty growth of their Naval power, and (under that protection) of their Trade, had made the whole body of their Militia both at Land and Sea, averse from this Treaty, as well as the greatest part of the people; whose inveterate hatred against *Spain*, was still as fierce as ever; and who had the hopes or dispositions of raising their Fortunes by the War, whereof they had so many and great examples among them.

But there was at the bottom, one foreign, and another domestick consideration, which made way for this Treaty, more than all those arguments that

that were the common theams, or than all the Offices of the neighbour-Princes, who concerned themselves in this affair, either from interest of their own, or the desires of ending a War which had so long exercised in a manner the Arms of all Christendom upon the Stage of the *Low-Countreys*. The greatness of the *Spanish* Monarchy, so formidable under *Charles* the Fifth and *Philip* the Second, began now to decline by the vast designs and unfortunate events of so many ambitious Counsels: and on the other side, the affairs of *Henry* the Fourth of *France* were now at the greatest height and felicity, after having atchieved so many adventures with incredible constancy and valour, and ended all his Wars in a Peace with *Spain*. The *Dutch* imagin'd that the hot spirits of the *French* could not continue long without some exercise; and that to prevent it at home, it might be necessary for that King to give it them abroad; that no enter-

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prise lay so convenient for him, as that upon *Flanders*, which had anciently been part of the *Gallick* Nation, and whose first Princes derived and held of the Kings of *France*. Besides, they had intimations that *Henry* the Fourth was taken up in great preparations of War, which they doubted would at one time or other fall on that side, at least if they were invited by any greater decays of the *Spanish* power in *Flanders*: And they knew very well, they should lie as much at the mercy of such a Neighbour as *France*, as they had formerly done of such a Master of *Spain*. For the *Spanish* power in *Flanders* was fed by Treasures that came by long and perilous voyages out of *Spain*; by Troops drawn either from thence, or from *Italy* or *Germany*, with much casualty, and more expence: their Territory of the ten Provinces was small, and awed by the neighbourhood and jealousies both of *England* and *France*. But if *France* were once ma-

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ſter of *Flanders*, the body of that Empire would be ſo great, and ſo entire, ſo abounding in people, and in riches, that whenever they found or made an occaſion of invading the *United Provinces*, they had no hopes of preſerving themſelves by any oppoſition or diverſion: and the end of their mighty reſiſtances againſt *Spain* was to have no maſter; and not to change one for another, as they should do in this caſe: therefore the moſt intelligent among their Civil Miniſters thought it ſafeſt, by a Peace to give breath to the Arch-Duke's and *Spaniſh* power, and by that means to leſſen the invitation of the Arms of *France* into *Flanders* under ſo great a King.

For what was domeſtique, the credit and power of Prince *Maurice* built at firſt upon that of his Father, but much raiſed by his own perſonal vertues and qualities, and the ſucceſs of his Arms, was now grown ſo high (the Prince being Governour or Stadt-

Stadtholder of four of the Provinces, and two of his Cousins of the other three), that several of the States, headed by *Barnvelt*, Pensioner of *Holland*, and a man of great abilities and authority among them, became jealous of the Prince's power, and pretended to fear the growth of it to an absolute Dominion: They knew it would increase by the continuance of a War, which was wholly managed by the Prince; and thought that in a Peace it would diminish, and give way to the authority of Civil Power: Which disposed the whole party to desire the Treaty, and to advance the progress and issue of it by all their assistances. And these different humors stirring in the heart of the States, with almost equal strength and vigor, the negotiation of a Peace came to be eluded after long debates and infinite endeavours; breaking in appearance upon the points of Religion, and the *Indian* Trade; but yet came to knit again, and conclude in a Truce

Truce of twelve years, dated in the year 1609. whereof the most essential points were, the Declaration of treating with them as Free Provinces; the cessation of all acts of hostility on both sides during the Truce; the enjoyment, for that space, of all that each party possess'd at the time of the Treaty; that no new Fortification should be raised on either side; and that free Commerce should be restored on all parts in the same manner as it was before the Wars.

And thus the State of the *United Provinces* came to be acknowledged as a free Commonwealth by their ancient Master, having before been treated so by most of the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, in frequent Embassies and Negotiations. Among which, a particular preference was given to the *English* Crown, whose Embassador had Session and Vote in their Counsel of State, by agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, and in acknowledgment of those great assistances, which gave life

life to their State when it was upon the point of expiring: Though the *Dutch* pretend that priviledge was given to the Embassador by virtue of the possession, this Crown had of the *Briel*, *Flushing*, and *Ramekins*; and that it was to cease upon the restitution of those Towns, and repayment of those Sums lent by the Queen.

In the very time of treating this Truce, a League was concluded between *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, and the States, for preserving the Peace, if it came to be concluded; or in case of its failing, for assistance of one another, with ten thousand men on the King's part, and five thousand on the States. Nor did that King make any difficulty of continuing the two Regiments of Foot, and two hundred Horse in the States Service, at his own charge, after the Truce, which he had maintained for several years before it; omitting no provisions that might tye that State to his interests,

tereſts, and make him at preſent Arbiter of the Peace, and for the future of the War, if the Truce should come to be broken, or to expire of it ſelf.

By what has been related, it will eaſily appear, that no State was ever born with ſtronger throws, or nurſt up with harder fare, or inur'd to greater labours or dangers in the whole courſe of its youth; which are circumſtances that uſually make ſtrong and healthy bodies: and ſo this has proved, having never had more than one Diſeaſe break out, in the ſpace of ninety three years, which may be accounted the age of this State, reckoning from the Union of *Utrecht*, enter'd by the Provinces in 1579. But this Diſeaſe, like thoſe of the Seed or Conception in a natural Body, though it firſt appear'd in *Barnevel*'s time, breaking out upon the Negotiations with *Spain*, and ſeemed to end with his death (who was beheaded not many years after); yet has it ever ſince continued lurking in

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the veins of this State, and appearing upon all Revolutions, that seem to favour the predominancy of the one or other humor in the body; and under the names of the Prince of *Orange*'s, and the *Arminian* party, has ever made the weak side of this State; and whenever their period comes, will prove the occasion of their fall.

The ground of this name of *Arminian* was, that whilst *Barnevel*'s party accused those of the Prince of *Orange*'s, as being careless of their Liberties, so dearly bought, as devoted to the House of *Orange*, and disposed to the admission of an absolute Principality, and in order thereunto as promoters of a perpetual War with *Spain*: So those of the Princes party accused the others, as leaning still, and looking kindly upon their old Servitude, and relishing the *Spaniards* both in their politicks, by so eagerly affecting a Peace with that Crown; and in their Religion, by being generally *Arminians* (which

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was esteemed the middle part between the *Calvinist* and the *Roman* Religion). And besides these mutual reproaches, the two parties have ever valued themselves upon the assenting, one of the true and purer Reformed Religion; and the other, of the truer and freer Liberties of the State.

The Fortunes of this Commonwealth that have hapned in their Wars or Negotiations, since the Truce with *Spain*, and what circumstances or accidents both abroad and at home serv'd to cultivate their mighty growth, and conspired to the greatness wherein they appear'd to the world in the beginning of the year 1665. being not only the subject of the relations, but even the observation of this present age; I shall either leave as more obvious, and less necessary to the account I intend of the Civil Government of this Commonwealth; or else reserve them till the same vein of leisure or humor invite me to continue this deduction to the

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present time, the affairs of this State having been complicated with all the variety and memorable revolutions both of actions and counsels, that have since happened in the rest of Christendom.

In the mean time I will close this Relation with an event, which arrived soon after the conclusion of the Truce, and had like to have broken it within the year, if not prevented by the offices of the neighbour-Princes, but more by a change of humor in the United States, conspiring to the conservation of the new-restored Peace in these parts of the world.

In the end of the year 1609. died the Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, without Heir-male, leaving those Dutchies to the pretensions of his Daughters, in whose right the Duke of *Brandenburg* and *Nieuburg* possessed themselves of such parts of those Territories as they first could invade; each of them pretending right to the whole Inheritance. *Brandenburg* seeks protection and

and favour to his Title, from the *United Provinces*; *Nieuburg* from Arch-Duke *Albert*, and from *Spain*. The Arch-Duke newly respiring from so long a War, had no desire to interess himself in this Quarrel, further than the care that the *Dutch* should not take advantage of it; and under pretext of assisting one of the parties, seiz'd upon some of those Dominions lying contiguous to their own. The *Dutch* were not so equal, nor content to lose so fair an occasion, and surprized the Town of *Juliers* (though pretending only to keep it till the parties agreed). And believing that *Spain*, after having parted with so much in the late Truce, to end a quarrel of their own, would not venture the breach of it upon a quarrel of their Neighbours. But the Arch-Duke, having first taken his measures with *Spain*, and foreseeing the consequence of this affair, resolved to venture the whole State of *Flanders* in a new War, rather than suffer such

an increase of Power and Dominion to the States. And thereupon first in the behalf of the Duke of *Nieuburg*, requires from them the restitution of *Juliers*; and upon their artificious and dilatory Answers, immediately draws his Forces together, and with an Army under the command of *Spinola*, marches towards *Juliers* (which the States were in no care of, as well provided for a bold defence); but makes a sudden turn, and sits down before *Wesel*, with such a terror and surprize to the Inhabitants, that he carries the Town before the *Dutch* could come in to their assistance. *Wesel* was a strong Town upon the *Rhine*, which the Duke of *Brandenburg* pretended to, as belonging to the Dutchy of *Cleve*; but the Citizens held it at this time as an Imperial Town, and under protection of the *Dutch*, who amazed at this sudden and bold attempt of *Spinola*, which made him Master of a Pass that lay fair for any further Invasion upon their

their Provinces (especially those on th'other side the *Rhine*), engage the Offices of both the *English* and *French* Crowns, to mediate an Agreement, which at length they conclude, so as neither party should upon any pretence draw their Forces into any parts of these Dutchies. Thus the Arch-Duke having by the fondness of Peace, newly made a Truce upon conditions imposed by the *Dutch*; now by the resolution of making War, obtains a Peace upon the very Terms proposed by himself, and by *Spain*. A event of great instruction and ample, how dangerous it proves for weak Princes to call in greater to their aid, which makes them a prey to their Friend instead of their enemy; how the only time of making an advantagious Peace, is when your enemy desires it, and when you are in the best condition of pursuing a War: and

how vain a counsel it is to avoid a War by yielding any point of Interest or Honour; which does but invite new Injuries, encourage Enemies, and dishearten Friends.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of their Government.

IT is evident by what has been discourſed in the former Chapter concerning the Riſe of this State (which is to be dated from the Union of *Utrecht*), that it cannot properly be ſtiled a Commonwealth, but is rather a Confederacy of Seven Sovereign Provinces united together for their common and mutual defence, without any dependance one upon the other. But to diſcover the nature of their Government from the firſt ſprings and motions, it muſt be taken yet into ſmaller pieces, by which it will appear, that each of theſe Provinces, is likewiſe compoſed of many little States or Cities, which have ſeveral marks of Sovereign Power within themſelves, and are not ſubject to the Sovereignty of their Province; not being concluded in many things by the majority, but only by

by the universal concurrence of voices in the Provincial-States. For as the States-General cannot make War or Peace, or any new Alliance, or Levies of Money without the consent of every Province; so cannot the States-Provincial conclude any of those points without the consent of each of the Cities, that by their Constitution has a voice in that Assembly. And though in many Civil causes there lies an Appeal from the common Judicature of the Cities to the Provincial Courts of Justice; yet in Criminals there lies none at all; nor can the Sovereignty of a Province exercise any Judicature, seize upon any Offender, or pardon any Offence within the Jurisdiction of a City, or execute any common Resolution or Law, but by the Justice and Officers of the City it self. By this a certain Sovereignty in each City is discerned, the chief marks whereof are, the power of exercising Judicature, levying of Money, and making War and

and Peace: for the other of Coining Money, is neither in particular Cities, or Provinces, but in the generality of the Union by common Agreement.

The main ingredients therefore into the compoſition of this State, are the freedom of the Cities, the Sovereignty of the Provinces, the Agreements or Conſtitutions of the Union, and the authority of the Princes of *Orange*; which make the order I ſhall follow in the account intended of this Government. But whereas the ſeveral Provinces in the Union, and the ſeveral Cities in each Province, as they have in their orders and conſtitution ſome particular differences, as well as a general reſemblance, and the account of each diſtinctly would ſwell this Diſcourſe out of meaſure and to little purpoſe; I ſhall confine my ſelf to the account of *Holland* as the richeſt, ſtrongeſt, and of moſt authority among the Provinces, and of *Amſterdam*, as that

which has the same Preeminences among the Cities.

Government of the City of Amsterdam.

The Sovereign Authority of *Amsterdam*, consists in the Decrees or Results of their Senate, which is composed of six and thirty men, by whom the Justice is administred, according to the ancient forms, in the names of Officers and places of Judicature. But moneys are levied by arbitrary resolutions and proportions, according to what appears convenient or necessary upon the change or emergency of occasions. These Senators are for their lives, and the Senate was anciently chosen by the voices of the richer Burghers or Freemen of the City, who upon the death of a Senator met together either in a Church, a Market, or some other place spacious enough to receive their numbers; and there made an election of the person to succeed, by the majority of voices. But about a hundred and thirty

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or forty years ago, when the Towns of *Holland* began to increase in circuit, and in people, so as these frequent Assemblies grew into danger of tumult and disorders upon every occasion, by reason of their number and contention: This election of Senators came by the resolution of the Burghers, in one of their general Assemblies, to be devolved for ever upon the standing-Senate at that time; so as ever since, when any one of their number dies, a new one is chosen by the rest of the Senate, without any intervention of the other Burghers; which makes the Government a sort of *Oligarchy*, and very different from a popular Government, as it is generally esteemed by those who passing or living in these Countreys, content themselves with common Observations or Inquiries. And this resolution of the Burghers either was agreed upon, or followed by general consent or example, about the same time, in all the Towns of

the Province, though with some difference in number of their Senators.

By this Senate are chosen the chief Magistrates of the Town, which are the Burgomasters and the Eschevins: The Burgomasters of *Amsterdam* are four, whereof three are chosen every year; so as one of them stays in office two years; but the three last chosen, are called the Reigning-Burgomasters for that year, and preside by turns, after the first three months; for so long after a new Election, the Burgomaster of the year before presides; in which time 'tis supposed the new ones will grow instructed in the forms and duties of their Office, and acquainted with the state of the City's affairs.

The Burgomasters are chosen by most voices of all those persons in the Senate who have been either Burgomasters or Eschevins; and their Authority resembles that of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in our Cities. They represent the Dignity of the Govern-

Government, and do the honour of the City upon all occasions: They dispose of all under-offices that fall in their time; and issue out all Moneys out of the common Stock or Treasure, judging alone what is necessary for the safety, convenience, or dignity of the City. They keep the Key of the Bank of *Amsterdam* (the common Treasure of so many Nations), which is never opened without the presence of one of them; and they inspect and pursue all the great publick Works of the City, as the Ramperts and Stadthouse, now almost finished with so great Magnificence, and so vast Expence.

This Office is a charge of the greatest Trust, Authority, and Dignity; and so much the greater, by not being of profit or advantage, but only as a way to other constant Employments in the City that are so. The Salary of a Burgomaster of *Amsterdam* is but five hundred Gilders a year, though there are Offices worth

five thousand in their disposal; but yet none of them known to have taken money upon such occasions, which would lose all their Credit in the Town, and thereby their Fortunes by any publik Employments. They are obliged to no sort of Expence, more than ordinary modest Citizens, in their Habits, their Attendance, their Tables, or any part of their Domestick. They are upon all publick occasions waited on by men in Salary from the Town; and whatever Feasts they make upon solemn days, or for the entertainment of any Princes or Foreign Ministers, the charge is defrayed out of the common Treasure; but proportioned by their own discretion. At other times they appear in all places with the simplicity and modesty of other private Citizens. When the Burgomasters Office expires, they are of course disposed into the other Charges or Employments of the Town, which are very many and beneficial; unless they

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lose their Credit with the Senate, by any want of diligence or fidelity in the discharge of their Office, which seldom arrives.

The Eschevins are the Court of Justice in every Town. They are at *Amsterdam* nine in number; of which seven are chosen annually, but two of the preceding year continue in office. A double number is named by the Senate, out of which the Burgomasters now chuse, as the Prince of *Orange* did in the former Constitution. They are Sovereign Judges in all Criminal causes. In Civil, after a certain value, there lies Appeal to the Court of Justice of the Province. But they pass sentence of Death upon no man, without first advising with the Burgomasters; though after that form is past, they proceed themselves, and are not bound to follow the Burgomasters opinion, but are left to their own. This being only a care or favour of supererogation to the life of man, which is soon cut off, and never to

be retrieved or made amends for.

Under these sovereign Magistrates, the chief subordinate Officers of the Town are the Treasurers, who receive and issue out all moneys that are properly the Revenues or Stock of the City; The *Scout* who takes care of the Peace, seizes all Criminals, and sees the Sentences of Justice executed, and whose Authority is like that of a Sheriff in a County with us, or a Constable in a Parish. The *Pensioner*, who is a Civil Lawyer, verst in the Customs, and Records, and Priviledges of the Town, concerning which he informs the Magistracy upon occasion, and vindicates them upon disputes with other Towns: He is a Servant of the Senate and the Burgomasters, delivers their Messages, makes their Harangues upon all publick occasions, and is not unlike the Recorder in one of our Towns.

In the City of *Amsterdam* is the famous Bank, which is the greatest Treasure either real or imaginary, that

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is known any where in the world. The place of it is a great vault under the Stadthouſe, made ſtrong with all the circumſtances of Doors and Locks, and other appearing cautions of ſafety that can be: And 'tis certain, that whoever is carried to ſee the Bank, ſhall never fail to find the appearance of a mighty real Treaſure, in Bars of Gold and Silver, Plate and infinite Bags of Metals, which are ſuppoſed to be all Gold and Silver, and may be ſo for ought I know. But the Burgomaſters only having the inſpection of this Bank, and no man ever taking a particular account of what iſſues in and out, from age to age, 'tis impoſſible to make any calculation, or gueſs what proportion the real Treaſure may hold to the credit of it. Therefore the ſecurity of the Bank lies not only in the effects that are in it, but in the Credit of the whole Town or State of *Amſterdam*, whoſe Stock and Revenue is equal to that of ſome Kingdoms; and who

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are bound to make good all moneys that are brought into their Bank: the Tickets or Bills hereof make all the usual great Payments that are made between man and man in the Town; and not only in most other places of the *United Provinces*, but in many other Trading-parts of the world. So as this Bank is properly a general cash, where every man lodges his money, because he esteems it safer, and easier paid in and out, than if it were in his Coffers at home: And the Bank is so far from paying any Interest for what is there brought in, that money in the Bank is worth something more in common Payments, than what runs current in Coin from hand to hand: no other money passing in the Bank, but in the species of Coin the best known, the most ascertain'd, and the most generally current in all parts of the higher as well as the lower *Germany*.

The Revenues of *Amsterdam* arise out of the constant Excise upon all sorts

sorts of Commodities bought and sold within the Precinct: or out of the Rents of those Houses or Lands that belong in common to the City: or out of certain Duties and Impositions upon every house, towards the uses of Charity, and the Repairs, or Adornments, or Fortifications of the place: or else out of extraordinary Levies consented to by the Senate, for furnishing their part of the publick Charge that is agreed to by their Deputies in the Provincial-States, for the use of the Province: or by the Deputies of the States of *Holland* in the States General, for support of the Union. And all these payments are made into one common Stock of the Town, not as many of ours are into that of the Parish, so as attempts may be easier made at the calculations of their whole Revenue: And I have heard it affirmed, that what is paid of all kinds to publick uses of the States-General, the Province of *Amsterdam*, amounts to above sixteen hundred

hundred thousand pounds *sterling* a year. But I enter into no computations, nor give these for any thing more than what I have heard from men who pretended to make such enquiries; which I confess I did not. 'Tis certain, that in no Town, Strength, Beauty, and Convenience, are better provided for, nor with more unlimited expence than in this, by the magnificence of their publick Buildings, as Stadthouse and Arsenals; the number and spaciousness, as well as order and revenues of their many Hospitals; the commodiousness of their Canals running through the chief Streets of passage; the mighty strength of their Bastions and Ramparts; and the neatness as well as convenience of their Streets, so far as can be compassed in so great a confluence of industrious people: all which could never be atchieved without a charge much exceeding what seems proportioned to the Revenue of one single Town.

The

Government of the Province of Holland.

The Senate chuſes the Deputies, which are ſent from this City to the States of *Holland*, the ſovereignty whereof is repreſented by Deputies of the Nobles and Towns, compoſing nineteen Voices; of which the Nobles have only the firſt, and the Cities eighteen, according to the number of thoſe which are called *Stemms:* the other Cities and Towns of the Province having no voice in the States. Theſe Cities were originally but ſix, *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Delf*, *Leyden*, *Amſterdam*, and *Tergou*. But were increaſed by Prince *William* of *Naſſaw*, to the number of eighteen, by the addition of *Rotterdam*, *Gorcum*, *Schedam*, *Schonoven*, *Briel*, *Alcmar*, *Horn*, *Enchuſen*, *Edam*, *Moninckdam*, *Medenblick*, and *Permeren:* This makes as great an inequality in the Government of the Province, by ſuch a ſmall City as *Permeren* having an equal voice in the Provincial-States of *Amſterdam* (which

(which pays perhaps half of all charges of the Province), as seems to be in the States-General by so small a Province as *Overyssel* having an equal voice in the States-General with that of *Holland*, which contributes more than half to the general charge of the Union. But this was by some Writers of that Age interpreted to be done by the Prince's Authority, to lessen that of the Nobles, and balance that of the greater Cities, by the Voices of the smaller, whose dependances were easier to be gained and secured.

The Nobles, though they are few in this Province, yet are not represented by all their number, but by eight or nine, who as Deputies from their Body have Session in the States-Provincial; and who, when one among them dies, chuse another to succeed him. Though they have altogether but one Voice equal to the smallest Town; yet they are very considerable in the Government, by possessing

ing many of the best Charges both Civil and Military, by having the direction of all the Ecclesiastical Revenue that was seized by the State upon the change of Religion; and by sending their Deputies to all the Counsels both of the Generalty and the Province, and by the nomination of one Counsellor in the two great Courts of Justice. They give their Voice first in the Assembly of the States, and thereby a great weight to the business in consultation. The *Pensioner* of *Holland* is seated with them, delivers their Voice for them, and assists at all their Deliberations before they come to the Assembly. He is properly but Minister or Servant of the Province, and so his place or rank is behind all their Deputies; but he has always great credit, because he is perpetual, or seldom discharged; though of right he ought to be chosen or renewed every fifth year. He has place in all the several Assemblies of the Province, and in the States proposes all affairs

affairs, gathers the opinions, and forms or digests the resolutions; pretending likewise a power not to conclude any very important affair by plurality of voices, when he judges in his conscience he ought not to do it, and that it will be of ill consequence or prejudice to the Province. He is likewise one of their constant Deputies in the States-General.

The Deputies of the Cities are drawn out of the Magistrates and Senate of each Town: their number is uncertain and arbitrary, according to the customs or pleasure of the Cities that send them, because they have all together but one Voice, and are all maintained at their Cities Charge: but commonly one of the Burgomasters, and the Pensioner are of the number.

The States of *Holland* have their Session in the Court at the *Hague*, and assemble ordinarily four times a year, in *February*, *June*, *September*, and *November*. In the former Sessions they pro-

provide for the filling up of all vacant charges, and for renewing the Farms of all the ſeveral Taxes, and for conſulting about any matters that concern either the general good of the Province, or any particular differences ariſing between the Towns. But in *November* they meet purpoſely to reſolve upon the continuance of the charge which falls to the share of their Province the following year, according to what may have been agreed upon by the Deputies of the States General, as neceſſary for the ſupport of the State or Union.

For extraordinary occaſions they are convoked by a Counſel called the *Gecommitteerde Raeden*, or the Commiſſioned Counſellors, who are properly a Counſel of State, of the Province, compoſed of ſeveral Deputies; one from the Nobles; one from each of the chief Towns; and but one from three of the ſmaller Towns, each of the three chuſing him by turns. And this Counſel ſits conſtantly

ſtantly at the *Hague*, and both propoſes to the Provincial-States at their extraordinary Aſſemblies, the matters of deliberation, and executes their reſolutions.

In theſe Aſſemblies, though all are equal in voices, and any one hinders a reſult; yet it ſeldom happens, but that united by one common bond of intereſt, and having all one common end of publick good, they come after full debates to eaſie reſolutions; yielding to the power of reaſon where it is clear and ſtrong; and ſuppreſſing all private paſſions or intereſts, ſo as the ſmaller part ſeldom conteſts hard or long, what the greater agrees of. When the Deputies of the States agree in opinion, they ſend ſome of their number to their reſpective Towns, propoſing the affair and the reaſons alledged, and deſiring orders from them to conclude; which ſeldom fails, if the neceſſity or utility be evident: If it be more intricate or ſuffers delay, the States adjourn for ſuch

such a time, as admits the return of all the Deputies to their Towns; where their influence and intereſt, and the impreſſions of the Debates in their Provincial Aſſemblies, make the conſent of the Cities eaſier gain'd.

Beſides the States and Counſel mention'd; the Province has likewiſe a Chamber of accounts, who manage the general Revenues of the Province: And beſides this Truſt, they have the abſolute diſpoſition of the ancient Demeſne of *Holland*, without giving any account to the States of the Province. Only at times, either upon uſual intervals, or upon a neceſſity of money, the States call upon them for a Subſidy of two or three hundred thouſand Crowns; or more, as they are preſt, or conceive the Chamber to be grown rich, beyond what is proportioned to the general deſign of increaſing the eaſe and fortunes of thoſe perſons who compoſe it. The States of *Holland* diſpoſe of theſe charges to men grown aged in

their Service, and who have paſſed through moſt of the Employments of State with the eſteem of prudence and integrity; and ſuch perſons find here an honourable and profitable retreat.

Theſe Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, as they uſed formerly to have one Governour in the time of the Houſe of *Burgundy* and *Auſtria*; ſo they have long had one common Judicature, which is exerciſed by two Courts of Juſtice, each of them common to both the Provinces. The firſt is compoſed of twelve Counſellors, nine of *Holland*, and three of *Zealand*, of whom the Governour of the Provinces is the head; by the old conſtitution uſed to preſide whenever he pleaſed, and to name all the Counſellors except one, who was choſen by the Nobles. This Court judges without appeal in all criminal cauſes; but in civil there lies appeal to the other Court, which is called the High Counſel, from which there is

is no appeal, but only by Petition to the States of the Province for a reviſion: When theſe judge there is a reaſon for it, they grant Letters Patents to that purpoſe, naming ſome *Syndiques* out of the Towns, who being added to the Counſellors of the two former Courts, reviſe and judge the Cauſe in the laſt reſort. And this courſe ſeems to have been inſtituted by way of ſupply or imitation of the Chamber of *Mechlin*, to which, before the Revolt of the Provinces, there lay an appeal by way of reviſion, from all or moſt of the Provincial Courts of Juſtice, as there ſtill doth in the *Spaniſh* Provinces of the *Netherlands*.

Government of the United Provinces.

The Union is made up of the Seven Sovereign Provinces before named, who chuſe their reſpective Deputies, and ſent them to the *Hague*, for the compoſing of three ſeveral Colledges, called, the States-General, the Counſel of State,

and the Chamber of Accounts. The Soveraign Power of this United-State, lies effectively in the Assembly of the States-General, which used at first to be convoked upon extraordinary occasions, by the Counsel of State; but that seldom, in regard they usually consisted of above eight hundred persons, whose meeting together in one place from so many several parts, gave too great a shake to the whole Body of the Union; made the Debates long, and sometimes confused; the Resolutions slow, and upon sudden occasions out of time. In the absence of the States-General, the Counsel of State represented their Authority, and executed their resolutions, and judged of the necessity of a new Convocation: till after the Earl of *Leicester*'s departure from the Government, the Provincial-States desired of the General, that they might by their constant respective Deputies, continue their Assemblies under the name of *States-General*, which

which were never after assembled but at *Bergen op Zoom*, for ratifying with more solemn form and authority, the Truce concluded with Duke *Albert* and *Spain*.

This desire of the Provinces was grounded upon the pretences, that the Counsel of State convoked them but seldom, and at will; and that being to execute all in their absence, they thereby arrogated to themselves too great an authority in the State. But a more secret reason had greater weight in this affair, which was, that the *English* Embassador had by agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, a constant place in their Counsel of State; and upon the distasts arising between the Provinces and the Earl of *Leicester*, with some jealousies of the Queens dispositions to make a Peace with *Spain*, they had no mind that her Embassador should be present any longer in the first digestion of their affairs which was then usually made in the Counsel of State. And hereupon

they first framed the ordinary Counsel, called the *States General*, which has ever since passed by that name, and sits constantly in the Court at the *Hague*, represents the Sovereignty of Union, gives Audience and Dispatches to all Foreign Ministers; but yet is indeed only a representative of the States-General, the Assemblies whereof are wholly disused.

The Counsel of State, the Admiralty, and the Treasury are all subordinate to this Counsel; all which are continued in as near a resemblance as could be, to the several Counsels used in the time when the Provinces were subject to their several Principalities; or united under one in the houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*: only the several Deputies (composing one voice) now succeeding the single persons employed under the former Governments: And the *Hague*, which was the ancient seat of the Counts of *Holland*, still continues to be so of all these Counsels; where the Palace of the

the former Sovereigns, lodges the Prince of *Orange* as Governour, and receives these several Counsels as attending still upon the Sovereignty, represented by the States-General.

The Members of all these Counsels are placed and changed by the several Provinces, according to their different or agreeing customs. To the States-General every one sends their Deputies in what number they please; some two, some ten or twelve; which makes no difference, because all matters are carried not by the Votes of Persons, but of Provinces; and all the Deputies from one Province, how few or many soever, have one single Vote. The Provinces differ likewise in the time fixed for their deputation; some sending for a year, some for more; and others for life. The Province of *Holland* send to the States-General one of their Nobles, who is perpetual; two Deputies chosen out of their eight chief Towns; and one out of *North-Holland*; and with

these, two of their Provincial Counsel of State, and their *Pensioner*.

Neither Stadtholder, or Governor, or any person in military charge, has Session in the States-General. Every Province presides their week in turns, and by the most qualified person of the Deputies of that Province: He sits in a Chair with arms, at the middle of a long Table, capable of holding about thirty persons; for about that number this Counsel is usually composed of. The *Greffier*, who is in nature of a Secretary, sits at the lower end of the Table: When a forreign Minister has Audience, he is seated at the middle of this Table, over-against the President, who proposes all matters in this Assembly; makes the *Greffier* read all Papers; puts the Question; calls the Voices of the Provinces; and forms the Conclusion. Or if he refuses to conclude according to the plurality, he is obliged to resign his place to the President of the ensuing week, who concludes

This

This is the course in all affairs before them, except in cases of Peace and War, of forreign Alliances, of raising or coining of moneys, or the Priviledges of each Province or Member of the Union. In all which, all the Provinces must concur, plurality being not at all weighed or observed. This Counsel is not Sovereign, but only represents the Sovereignty; and therefore though Embassadors are both received and sent in their name; yet neither are their own chosen, nor forreign Ministers answered, nor any of those mentioned affairs resolved, without consulting first the States of each Province by their respective Deputies, and receiving Orders from them: And in other important matters, though decided by plurality, they frequently consult with the Counsel of State.

Nor has this method or constitution ever been broken since their State began, excepting only in one affair, which was in *January* 1668, when

his Majesty sent me over to propose a League of mutual Defence with this State, and another for the preservation of *Flanders* from the Invasion of *France*, which had already conquered a great part of the *Spanish* Provinces, and left the rest at the mercy of the next *Campaign*. Upon this occasion I had the fortune to prevail with the States-General to conclude three Treaties, and upon them draw up and sign the several instruments, in the space of five days; without passing the essential forms of their Government by any recourse to the Provinces, which must likewise have had it to the several Cities: There, I knew those Foreign Ministers whose duty and Interest it was to oppose this affair, expected to meet and to elude it, which could not have failed in case it had run that Circle, since engaging the voice of one City must have broken it. 'Tis true, that in concluding these Alliances without Commission from their Principals, the Deputies of the

the States-General ventur'd their heads, if they had been disowned by their Provinces; but being all unanimous, and led by the clear evidence of so direct and important an interest (which must have been lost by the usual delays), they all agreed to run the hazard; and were so far from being disown'd, that they were applauded by all the Members of every Province; having thereby changed the whole face of Affairs in Christendom, and laid the foundation of the Triple-Alliance, and the Peace of *Aix* (which were concluded about four months after). So great has the force of Reason and Interest ever proved in this State, not only to the uniting of all Voices in their Assemblies, but to the absolving of the greatest breach of their original Constitutions; even in a State whose Safety and Greatness has been chiefly founded upon the severe and exact observance of Order and Method in all their Counsels and Executions. Nor have they ever used

at any other time greater means to agree and unite the several Members of their Union in the Resolutions necessary, upon the most pressing occasions, than for the agreeing-Provinces to name some of their ablest persons to go and confer with the dissenting, and represent those Reasons and Interests, by which they have been induced to their opinions.

The Counsel of State is composed of Deputies from the several Provinces, but after another manner than the States-General, the number being fixed. *Gelderland* sends two, *Holland* three, *Zealand* and *Utrecht* two a-piece, *Friezeland*, *Overyssel* and *Groninghen*, each of them one, making in all twelve. They vote not by Provinces, but by personal Voices; and every Deputy presides by turns. In this Counsel the Governour of the Provinces has Session, and a decisive voice: and the Treasurer-General, Session, but a voice only deliberative; yet he has much credit here, being for life;

life; and so is the person deputed to this Counsel from the Nobles of *Holland*, and the Deputies of the Province of *Zealand*. The rest are but for two, three, or four years.

The Counsel of State executes the Resolutions of the States-General; consults and proposes to them the most expedient ways of raising Troops, and levying Moneys, as well as the proportions of both, which they conceive necessary in all conjunctures and revolutions of the State: Superintends the Milice, the Fortifications, the Contributions out of Enemies Countreys, the forms and disposal of all Passports, and the Affairs, Revenues, and Government of all places conquered since the Union; which being gain'd by the common Arms of the State, depend upon the States-General, and not upon any particular Province.

Towards the end of every year, this Counsel forms a state of the expence they conceive will be necessary

for the year ensuing; presents it to the States-General, desiring them to demand so much of the States-Provincial, to be raised according to the usual proportions, which are of 100000 Gilders.

	gdrs.	st.	d.
Gelderland	36120	05	00
Holland	58309	01	10
Zealand	9183	14	02
Utrecht	5830	17	11
Friezland	11661	15	10
Overyssel	3571	08	04
Groningue	5830	17	11

This Petition, as 'tis called, is made to the States-General in the name of the Governour and Counsel of State, which is but a continuance of the forms used in the time of their Sovereigns, and still by the Governors and Counsel of State in the *Spanish Netherlands*: Petition signifying barely asking or demanding, though implying the thing demanded to be wholly

wholly in the right and power of them that give. It was uſed by the firſt Counts only upon extraordinary occaſions and neceſſities; but in the time of the Houſes of *Burgundy* and *Auſtria*, grew to be a thing of courſe, and annual, as it is ſtill in the *Spaniſh* Provinces.

The Counſel of State diſpoſes of all ſums of money deſtin'd for all extraordinary affairs, and expedites the Orders for the whole expence of the State, upon the reſolutions firſt taken in the main, by the States-General. The Orders muſt be ſigned by three Deputies of ſeveral Provinces, as well as by the Treaſurer General, and then regiſtred in the Chamber of Accounts, before the Receiver-General pays them, which is then done without any difficulty, charge, or delay.

Every Province raiſes what moneys it pleaſes, and by what ways or means; ſends its *Quota*, or ſhare of the general charge to the Receiver-General, and converts the reſt to the

pre

present use, or reserves it for the future occasions of the Province.

The Chamber of Accounts was erected about sixty years ago, for the ease of the Counsel of State, to examine and state all Accounts of all the several Receivers, to controul and register the Orders of the Counsel of State, which disposes of the Finances: and this Chamber is composed of two Deputies from each Province, who are changed every three years.

Besides these Colledges is the Counsel of the Admiralty; who, when the States-General by advice of the Counsel of State, have design'd a Fleet of such a number and force to be set out, have the absolute disposition of the Marine affairs, as well in the choice and equipage of all the several Ships, as in issuing the moneys allotted for that service.

This Colledge is subdivided into five, of which three are in *Holland*, *viz.* one in *Amsterdam*, another at *Rotterdam*, and the third at *Horn*: the

the fourth is at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*, and the fifth at *Harlinguen* in *Friezland*. Each of these is composed of seven Deputies; four of that Province where the Colledg resides; and three named by the other Provinces. The Admiral, or in his absence, the Vice-Admiral, has Session in all these Colledges, and presides when he is present. They take cognizance of Crimes committed at Sea; judge all Pyrates that are taken, and all frauds or negligences in the payment or collections of the Customs; which are particularly affected to the Admiralty, and applicable to no other use. This *Fond* being not sufficient in times of Wars, is supplied by the States with whatever is necessary from other *Fonds*; but in time of Peace, being little exhausted by other constant charge, besides that of Convoys to their several Fleets of Merchants in all parts. The remainder of this Revenue is applied to the building of great Ships of War,

War, and furnishing the several Arsenals and Stores with all sorts of Provision necessary for the building and rigging of more Ships than can be needed by the course of a long War.

So soon as the number and force of the Fleets designed for any Expedition, is agreed by the States-General, and given out by the Counsel of State to the Admiralty; each particular Colledg furnishes their own proportion, which is known as well as that of the several Provinces, in all moneys that are to be raised. In all which, the Admiral has no other share or advantages, besides his bare Salary, and his proportion in Prizes that are taken. The Captains and Superior Officers of each Squadron are chosen by the several Colledges; the number of men appointed for every Ship: after which, each Captain uses his best diligence and credit to fill his number with the best men he can get, and takes the whole care and charge of Victu-

Victualling his own Ship for the time intended for that Expedition, and signified to him by the Admiralty; and this at a certain rate of so much a man. And by the good or ill discharge of his Trust, as well as that of providing Chirurgeons Medicines, and all things necessary for the health of the men, each Captain grows into good or ill credit with the Sea-men, and by their report with the Admiralties: upon whose opinion and esteem, the fortune of all Sea-Officers depends: So as in all their Expeditions there appears rather an emulation among the particular Captains who shall treat his Sea-men best in these points, and employ the moneys allotted for their Victualling to the best advantage, than any little knavish practices of filling their own purses by keeping their men's bellies empty, or forcing them to corrupted unwholesome diet: upon which, and upon cleanliness in their Ships, the health of many people crowded up into so

so little rooms, seem chiefly to depend.

The Salaries of all the great Officers of this State are very small: I have already mentioned that of Burgomasters of *Amsterdam* to be about fifty pounds *sterling* a year: That of their Vice-Admiral (for since the last Prince of *Orange*'s death, to the year 1670. there had been no Admiral) is five hundred, and that of the *Pensioner* of *Holland* two hundred.

The greatness of this State seems much to consist in these Orders, how confused soever, and of different pieces they may seem: but more in two main effects of them, which are the good choice of the Officers of chief Trust in the Cities, Provinces, and State: and the great simplicity and modesty in the common port or living of their chiefest Ministers; without which, the absoluteness of the Senates in each Town, and the immensity of the Taxes throughout the whole State, would never be endured

dured by the people with any patience; being both of them greater than in many of those Governments which are esteemed most Arbitrary among their Neighbours. But in the Assemblies and Debates of their Senates, every man's abilities are discovered, as their dispositions are, in the conduct of their lives and domestick, among their fellow-Citizens. The observation of these, either raises or suppresses the credit of particular men, both among the people and the Senates of their Towns; who to maintain their Authority with less popular envy or discontent, give much to the general opinion of the people in the choice of their Magistrates: By this means it comes to pass, that though perhaps the Nation generally be not wise, yet the Government is, because it is composed of the wisest of the Nation, which may give it an advantage over many others, where ability is of more common growth, but of less use to the publick,

if

it happens that neither wisdom nor honesty are the qualities which bring men to the management of State-Affairs, as they usually do in this Commonwealth.

Besides, though these people, who are naturally cold and heavy, may not be ingenious enough to furnish a pleasant or agreeable Conversation, yet they want not plain down-right sence to understand and do their business, both publick and private, which is a talent very different from the other; and I know not whether they often meet: For the first proceeds from heat of the brain, which makes the spirits more airy and volatile, and thereby the motions of thought lighter and quicker, and the range of imagination much greater than in cold heads, where the spirits are more earthy and dull: thought moves slower and heavier, but thereby the impressions of it are deeper, and last longer; one imagination being not so frequently nor so easily effaced by an-

another, as where new ones are continually arising. This makes duller men more constant and steddy, and quicker men more inconstant and uncertain; whereas the greatest ability in business seems to be the steddy pursuit of some one thing till there is an end of it, with perpetual application and endeavour not to be diverted by every representation of new hopes or fears, of difficulty or danger, or of some better design. The first of these talents cuts like a razor, the other like a hatchet; one has thinness of edg, and fineness of metal and temper, but is easily turn'd by any substance that is hard, and resists. Th'other has toughness and weight, which makes it cut through, or go deep, wherever it falls; and therefore one is for adornment, and th'other for use.

It may be said further, that the heat of the heart commonly goes along with that of the brain; so that passions are warmer where imaginations are quicker: and there are few men (unless

(unless in case of some evident natural defect) but have sence enough to distinguish in gross between right and wrong, between good and bad, when represented to them; and consequently have judgment enough to do their business, if it be left to it self, and not swayed nor corrupted by some humor or passion, by anger or pride, by love or by scorn, ambition or avarice, delight or revenge; so that the coldness of passions seems to be the natural ground of ability and honesty among men, as the government or moderation of them the great end of philosophical and moral instructions. These speculations may perhaps a little lessen the common wonder, how we should meet with in one Nation so little shew of Parts and Wit, and so great evidence of Wisdom and Prudence, as has appeared in the conduct and successes of this State for near an hundred years; which needs no other testimony than the mighty growth and power it arrived to from

so

so weak and contemptible seeds and beginnings.

The other circumstance I mentioned as an occasion of their greatness, was the simplicity and modesty of their Magistrates in their way of living; which is so general, that I never knew one among them exceed the common frugal popular air; and so great, that of the two chief Officers in my time, Vice-Admiral *De Ruyter*, and the Pensioner *De Wit* (one, generally esteemed by foreign Nations, as great a Sea-man, and the other as great a States-man as any of their Age), I never saw the first in Clothes better than the commonest Sea-Captain, nor with above one man following him, nor in a Coach: And in his own House, neither was the Size, Building, Furniture, or Entertainment, at all exceeding the use of of every common Merchant and Trades-man in his Town. For the Pensioner *De Wit*, who had the great influence in the Government, the

whole train and expence of his domestick went very equal with other common Deputies or Ministers of the State; his Habit grave, and plain, and popular; his Table what only serv'd turn for his Family, or a Friend; his Train (besides Commissaries and Clerks kept for him in an Office adjoyning to his House, at the publick charge) was only one man, who performed all the menial service of his House at home; and upon his Visits of Ceremony, putting on a plain Livery-Cloak, attended his Coach abroad: For upon other occasions, he was seen usually in the streets on foot and alone, like the commonest Burger of the Town. Nor was this manner of life affected, or used only by these particular men, but was the general fashion or mode among all the Magistrates of the State: For I speak not of the Military Officers, who are reckon'd their Servants, and live in a different garb, though generally modester than in other Countreys.

Thus

Thus this ſtomachful people, who could not endure the leaſt exerciſe of Arbitrary Power or Impoſitions, or the ſight of any Foreign Troops under the *Spaniſh* Government; have been ſince inured to all of them, in the higheſt degree, under their own popular Magiſtrates; bridled with hard Laws; terrified with ſevere Executions; environ'd with foreign Forces; and oppreſt with the moſt cruel hardſhip and variety of Taxes, that was ever known under any Government. But all this, whilſt the way to Office and Authority lies through thoſe qualities which acquire the general eſteem of the people; whilſt no man is exempted from the danger and current of Laws; whilſt Souldiers are confined to the Frontier-Garriſons (the Guard of Inland or Trading-Towns being left to the Burghers themſelves); and whilſt no great Riches are ſeen to enter by publick Payments into private Purſes, either to raiſe Families, or to feed the

prodigal expences of vain, extravagant, and luxurious men; but all publick moneys are applied to the Safety, Greatneſs, or Honour of the State, and the Magiſtrates themſelves bear an equal share in all the burthens they impoſe.

The Authority of the Princes of Orange.

The Authority of the Princes of *Orange*, though intermitted upon the untimely death of the laſt, and infancy of this preſent Prince; yet as it muſt be ever acknowledged to have had a moſt eſſential part in the firſt frame of this Government, and in all the Fortunes thereof, during the whole growth and progreſs of the State: ſo has it ever preſerved a very ſtrong root, not only in ſix of the Provinces, but even in the general and popular affections of the Province of *Holland* it ſelf, whoſe States have for theſe laſt twenty years ſo much endeavoured to ſuppreſs or exclude it.

This began in the perſon of Prince

William

William of *Nassaw*, at the very birth of the State; and not so much by the quality of being Governour of *Holland* and *Zealand* in *Charles* the Fifth's, and *Philip* the Second's time; as by the esteem of so great wisdom, goodness and courage, as excell'd in that Prince, and seems to have been from him derived to his whole Race. Being indeed the qualities that naturally acquire esteem and authority among the people in all Governments. Nor has this Nation in particular, since the time perhaps of *Civilis*, ever been without some Head, under some Title or other; but always a Head subordinate to their Laws and Customs, and to the Sovereign Power of the State.

In the first Constitution of this Government, after the Revolt from *Spain*, all the Power and Rights of Prince *William* of *Orange*, as Governour of the Provinces, seem to have been carefully reserved. But those which remain'd inherent in the So-

vereign, were devolved upon the Assembly of the States-General, so as in them remained the power of making Peace and War, and all forreign Alliances, and of raising and coining of moneys. In the Prince, the command of all Land and Sea-Forces, as Captain-General and Admiral, and thereby the disposition of all Military Commands; the power of pardoning the penalty of Crimes; the chusing of Magistrates upon the nomination of the Towns; for they presented three to the Prince, who elected one out of that number. Originally the States-General were convoked by the Counsel of State, where the Prince had the greatest influence: Nor since that change, have the States used to resolve any important matter without his advice. Besides all this, as the States-General represented the Sovereignty, so did the Prince of *Orange* the Dignity of this State, by publick Guards, and the attendance of all Military Officers; by the appli-

cation of all forreign Miniſters, and all pretenders at home; by the ſplendor of his Court, and magnificence of his expence, ſupported not only by the Penſions and Rights of his ſeveral Charges and Commands, but by a mighty Patrimonial Revenue in Lands, and Sovereign Principalities and Lordships, as well in *France*, *Germany*, and *Burgundy*, as in the ſeveral parts of the Seventeen Provinces; as Prince *Henry* was uſed to ſay ſome that would have flattered him into the deſigns of a more Arbitrary Power, that he had as much as any wiſe Prince would deſire in that State; ſince he wanted none indeed, beſides that of punishing men, and raiſing money; whereas he had rather the envy of the firſt ſhould lie upon the forms of the Government, and he knew the other could never be ſupported without the conſent of the people, to that degree which was neceſſary for the defence of ſo ſmall a State againſt ſo mighty Princes as their Neighbours.

Upon these foundations was this State first establish'd, and by these orders maintained, till the death of the last Prince of *Orange*; when by the great influence of the Province of *Holland* amongst the rest, the Authority of the Princes came to be shared among the several Magistracies of the State; those of the Cities assumed the last nomination of their several Magistrates; the State-Provincial, the disposal of all Military Commands in those Troops which their share was to pay; and the States-General, the command of the Armies, by Officers of their own appointment, substituted and changed at their will. No power remain'd to pardon what was once condemn'd by the rigor of Law, nor any person to represent the port and dignity of a Sovereign State: both which could not fail of being sensibly missed by the people, since no man in particular can be secure of offending, or would therefore absolutely despair of impunity himself, though

though he would have others do so; and men are generally pleased with the pomp and splendor of a Government, not only as it is an amusement for idle people, but as it is a mark of the greatness, honour and riches of their Countrey.

However these defects were for near twenty years supplied in some measure, and this frame supported by the great Authority and Riches of the Province of *Holland*, which drew a sort of dependance from the other six; and by the great sufficiency, integrity, and constancy of their chief Minister, and by the effect of both in the prosperous successes of their Affairs; yet having been a constitution strained against the current vein and humour of the people, it was always evident, that upon the growth of this young Prince, the great vertues and qualities he derived from the mixture of such Royal and such Princely Blood, could not fail in time of raising his Authority to equal at

least, if not to surpass that of his glorious Ancestors.

Because the curious may desire to know something of the other Provinces, as well as *Holland*, at least in general, and where they differ, it may be observed, that the Constitutions of *Gelderland*, *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, agree much with those in *Holland*; the States in each Province being composed of Deputies from the Nobles and the Cities; but with these small differences. In *Gelderland* all the Nobles that have certain Fees or Lordships in the Province have Session; they compose one half of the States, and the Deputies of the Towns the other; and though some certain persons among them are deputed to the States-General, yet any of the Nobles of *Gelder* may have place there, if he will attend at his own charge.

In *Zealand* the Nobility having been extinguished in the *Spanish* Wars; and the Prince of *Orange* possessing the Marquisats of *Flushing* and

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Terveer; his Highness alone makes that part of the States in the Province, by the quality and Title of first or sole Noble of *Zealand*; and thereby has by his Deputy the first place, and voice, in the States of the Province, the Counsel of State, and Chamber of Accounts: As Sovereign of *Flushing* and *Terveer*, he likewise creates the Magistrates, and consequently disposes the voices, not only of the Nobles, but also of two Towns, whereas there are in all but six that send their Deputies to the States, and make up the Sovereignty of the Province.

In *Utrecht*, besides the Deputies of the Nobles, and Towns, eight Delegates of the Clergy have Session, and make a third Member in the States of the Province. These are elected out of the four great Chapters of the Town, the Preferments and Revenues whereof (though anciently Ecclesiastical) yet are now possessed by Lay persons, who are most of

them Gentlemen of the Province.

The Government of the Province of *Friezland* is wholly different from that of the four Provinces already mentioned; and is compoſed of four Members, which are called, the quarters of *Oſtergo*, conſiſting of eleven Baillages; of *Weſtergo*, conſiſting of nine; and of *Sevenwolden*, conſiſting of ten. Each Baillage comprehends a certain number of Villages, ten, twelve, fifteen, or twenty, according to their ſeveral extents. The fourth Member conſiſts of the Towns of the Province, which are eleven in number. Theſe four Members have each of them right of ſending their Deputies to the States; that is, two choſen out of every Baillage, and two out of every Town; and theſe repreſent the Sovereignty of the Province, and deliberate, and conclude of all affairs, of what importance ſoever, without any recourſe to them who deputed them, or obligation to know their intentions, which

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the Deputies of all the former Provinces are ſtrictly bound to, and either muſt follow the Inſtructions they bring with them to the Aſſembly, or know the reſolution of their Principals before they conclude of any new affair that ariſes.

In the other Provinces, the Nobles or the Towns chuſe the Deputies which compoſe the States, but in *Friezland* the conſtitution is of quite another ſort: for every Baillage, which is compoſed of a certain extent of Country, and number of Villages (as has been ſaid) is governed by a Bailly, whom in their Language they call *Greetman*; and this Officer governs his Circuit with the aſſiſtance of a certain number of perſons, who are called his Aſſeſſors, who together judge of all Civil Cauſes, in the firſt inſtance, but with appeal to the Court of Juſtice of the Province. When the States are convoked, every Bailly aſſembles together all the perſons of what quality

soever, who possess a certain quantity of land within his district, and these men by most voices name the two Deputies which each Baillage sends to the Assembly of the States.

This Assembly, as it represents the Sovereignty of the Province; so it disposes of all vacant charges, chuses the nine Deputies who compose that permanent Colledg, which is the Counsel of State of the Province; and likewise twelve Counsellors (that is three for every Quarter) who compose the Court of Justice of the Province, and judg of all Civil Causes in the last resort, but of all Criminals from the first instance, there being no other Criminal Jurisdiction but this only through the Province; whereas in the other Provinces, there is no Town which has it not within it self: and several both Lords and Villages have the high and low Justice belonging to them.

In the Province *Groningue* which is upon the same Tract of Land, the Elections

lections of the Deputies out of the Country are made as in *Friezland*, by persons possest of set proportions of Land: but in *Overyssel*, all Nobles who are qualifi'd by having Seigneurial Lands make a part of the States.

These three Provinces, with *Westphalia*, and all those Countreys between the *Wezer*, the *Yssel*, and the *Rhyne*, where the Seat of the ancient *Frisons*, who under the name of *Saxons* (given them from the weapon they wore, made like a Sythe with the edge outwards, and called in their Language *Seaxes*) were the fierce Conquerors of our *British* Island, being called in upon the desertion of the *Roman* Forces, and the cruel incursions of the *Picts*, against a people whose long Wars at first with the *Romans*, and afterwards servitude under them, had exhausted all the bravest Blood of their Nation, either in their own, or their Masters succeeding Quarrels, and depressed the hearts and courages of the rest.

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The Bishop of *Munster*, whose Territories lie in this Tract of Land, gave me the first certain evidences of those being the Seats of our ancient Saxons, which have since been confirmed to me by many things I have observed in reading the Stories of those times, and by what has been affirmed to me upon enquiry of the *Frizons* old Language, having still so great affinity with our old *English*, as to appear easily to have been the same; most of their words still retaining the same signification and sound, very different from the Language of the *Hollanders*. This is the most remarkable in a little Town called *Malcuera*, upon the *Zudder* Sea in *Friezland*, which is still built after the fashion of the old *German* Villages, described by *Tacitus*, without any use or observation of Lines or Angles; but as if every man had built in a common Field just where he had a mind: so as a stranger when he goes in, must have a guide to find the way out again.

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Upon these informations and remarks, and the particular account afterwards given me of the constitutions of the Province of *Friezland*, so different from the others, I began to make reflections upon them, as the likeliest Originals of many ancient Constitutions among us, of which no others can be found, and which may seem to have been introduced by the *Saxons* here, and by their long and absolute possession of that part of the Isle called *England*, to have been so planted, and rooted among us, as to have waded safe in a great measure through the succeeding inundations and conquests of the *Danish* and *Norman* Nations. And perhaps there may be much matter found for the curious remarks of some diligent and studious Antiquaries in the comparisons of the *Bailli*, or *Greetman* among the *Frisons*, with our *Sheriff*; of their *Assessors*, with our *Justices* of Peace; of their judging Civil Causes in their district, upon the first resort, but not with-

without appeal, with the course of our Quarter-Sessions; of their chief Judicature, being composed of Counsellors, of four several Quarters, with our four Circuits; of these being the common Criminal Judicature of the Country; of the composition of their States, with our Parliament, at least our House of Commons; in the particulars of two Deputies being chosen from each Town, as with us, and two from each Baillage, as from each County here; and these last by Voices of all persons possest of a certain quantity of Land; and at a meeting assembled by the *Greetman* to that purpose; and these Deputies having power to resolve of all matters without resort to those that chose them, or knowledge of their intentions, which are all circumstances agreeing with our Constitutions, but absolutely differing from those of the other Provinces in the United States, and from the composition, I think, of the States, either now, or formerly

ly used in the other Nations of *Europe.*

To this Original, I suppose, we likewise owe what I have often wondered at, that in *England* we neither see nor find upon Record, any Lord or Lordship that pretends to have the exercise of Judicature belong to it, either that which is called high or low Justice, which seems to be a Badg of some ancient Sovereignty, though we see them very frequent among our Neighbours, both under more Arbitrary Monarchies, and under the most free and popular States.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of their Scituation.

Holland, *Zealand*, *Friezland*, and *Groninguen*, are ſeated upon the Sea, and make the ſtrength and greatneſs of this State: the other three, with the Conquered Towns in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Cleve*, make only the Out-works or Frontiers, ſerving chiefly for ſafety and defence of theſe. No man can tell the ſtrange and mighty changes that may have been made in the face and bounds of Maritime Countreys, at one time or other, by furious Inundations, upon the unuſual concurrence of Land-Floods, Winds and Tides; and therefore no man knows whether the Province of *Holland* may not have been in ſome paſt Ages, all Wood and rough unequal ground, as ſome old Traditions go; and levell'd to what we

we see, by the Seas breaking in and continuing long upon the Land; since recovered by its recess, and with the help of industry. For it is evident, that the Sea for some space of years, advances continually upon one Coast, retiring from the opposite; and in another Age, quite changes this course, yielding up what it had seized, and seizing what it had yielded up, without any reason to be given of such contrary motions. But I suppose this great change was made in *Holland*, when the Sea first parted *England* from the Continent, breaking through a neck of Land between *Dover* and *Calais*; which may be a Tale, but I am sure is no record. It is certain, on the contrary, that sixteen hundred years ago, there was no usual mention or memory of any such changes; and that the face of all these Coasts, and the nature of the Soil, especially that of *Holland*, was much as it is now, allowing only the Improvements of Riches, Time, and Industry;

duſtry; which appears in the deſcription made in * *Tacitus* both of the limits of the Iſle of *Batavia*, and the nature of the Soil as well as the Climate, with the very names and courſe of Rivers ſtill remaining.

'Tis likely the changes arrived ſince that Age in theſe Countreys, may have been made by ſtoppages grown in time, with the rolling of Sands upon the mouths of three great Rivers, which diſimbogued into the Sea through the Coaſts of theſe Provinces; that is the *Rhine*, the *Moſe*, and the *Schelde*. The ancient *Rhine* divided where *Skenckſconce* now ſtands into two Rivers; of which, one kept the name, till running near *Ley-*

* *Rhenus apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, ad Gallicam ripam latior & placidior, verſo cognomento Vahalem accolæ dicunt, mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Moſâ flumine, ejuſque immenſo ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur.*

Cum interim flexu Autumni & crebris imbribus ſuperfuſus amnis plauſtrum humilemq; Inſulam in faciem Stagni opplevit.

Leyden, it fell into the Sea at *Catwick*; where are ſtill ſeen at low Tides, the foundations of an ancient *Roman* Caſtle that commandeth the mouth of this River: But this is wholly ſtopt up, though a great Canal ſtill preſerves the name of the old *Rhine*. The *Moſe* running by *Dort* and *Rotterdam*, fell as it now does into the Sea at the *Briel*, with mighty iſſues of water; but the Sands gather'd for three or four Leagues upon this Coaſt, makes the Haven extreme dangerous, without great skill of Pilots, and uſe of Pilot-boats, that come out with every Tide to welcome and ſecure the Ships bound for that River: And it is probable that theſe Sands having obſtructed the free courſe of the River, has at times cauſed or increaſed thoſe Inundations, out of which ſo many Iſlands have been recovered, and of which that part of the Countrey is ſo much compoſed.

The *Scheld* ſeems to have had its iſſue

iſſue by *Walcheren* in *Zealand*, which was an Iſland in the mouth of that River, till the Inundations of that and the *Moſe* ſeem to have been joyned together by ſome great helps or irruptions of the Sea, by which the whole Countrey was overwhelmed, which now makes that Inland-Sea that ſerves for a common paſſage between *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Flanders* and *Brabant*. The Sea for ſome Leagues from *Zealand*, lies generally upon ſuch Banks of Sand as it does upon the mouth of the *Maze*, though ſeparated by ſomething better Channels than are found in the other.

That which ſeems likelieſt to have been the occaſion of ſtopping up wholly one of theſe Rivers, and obſtructing the others, is the courſe of Weſterly-winds, (which drive upon this Shore) being ſo much more conſtant and violent than the Eaſt: for taking the ſeaſons and years one with another, I ſuppoſe there will be obſerved

ſerved three parts of Weſterly for one Eaſterly Winds: Beſides that theſe laſt generally attend the calm Froſts and fair Weather, and the other the ſtormy and foul. And I have had occaſion to make experiment of the Sands riſing and ſinking before a Haven, by two fits of theſe contrary Winds, above four foot. This I preſume is likewiſe the natural reaſon of ſo many deep and commodious Havens found upon all the *Engliſh* ſide or the Channel, and ſo few (or indeed none) upon the *French* and *Dutch*: An advantage ſeeming to be given us by nature, and never to be equal'd by any art or expence of our Neighbours.

I remember no mention in ancient Authors of that which is now call'd the *Zudder-Sea*; which makes me imagine, that may have been form'd likewiſe by ſome great inundation breaking in between the *Teſſel*-Iſlands and others that lie ſtill in a line contiguous, and like the broken remain-

ders of a continued Coaſt. This ſeems more probable from the great ſhallowneſs of that Sea, and flatneſs of the Sands upon the whole extent of it, from the violent rage of the waters breaking in that way, which threaten the parts of *North-Holland* about *Medenblick* and *Enchuſen*, and brave it over the higheſt and ſtrongeſt Digues of the Province upon every High-Tide, and ſtorm at North-weſt. As likewiſe from the names of *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Friezland*, which ſhould have been one Continent, till divided by this Sea: For in the time of *Tacitus* no other diſtinction was known, but that of the greater or leſſer *Friſons*, * and that only from the meaſure of their numbers, or Forces; and though they were ſaid to have great Lakes among them, yet that word Lakes

* *A fronte Friſii excipiunt Majoribus Minoribuſque Friſiis vocabulum, ex modo virium utraque Nationes uſque ad Oceanum Rheno prætexuntur † ambiuntque immenſos inſuper lacus.* Tacit. de Mor. Ger.

seems to import they were of fresh water, which is made yet plainer by the word † *Ambiunt*, that shows those Lakes to have been inhabited round by these Nations: From all these I should guess, that the more Inland part of the *Zudder-Sea* was one of the Lakes there mention'd, between which and the *Tessel*, and *Vlie* Islands, there lay anciently a great Tract of Land (where the Sands are still so shallow, and so continued, as seems to make it evident,) but since covered by some great irruptions of waters that joyned those of the Sea and the Lake together, and thereby made that great Bay now called the *Zudder-Sea*, by favour whereof the Town of *Amsterdam* has grown to be the most frequented Haven of the world.

Whatever it was, whether nature or accident, and upon what occasion soever it arrived, the Soil of the whole Province of *Holland* is generally flat, like the Sea in a calm, and looks as if after a long contention between land

and water, which it should belong to, it had at length been divided between them: For to consider the great Rivers, and the strange number of Canals that are found in this Province, and do not only lead to every great Town, but almost to every Village, and every Farm-house in the Countrey; and the infinity of Sails that are seen every where coursing up and down upon them; one would imagin the water to have shar'd with the land; and the people that live in Boats, to hold some proportion with those that live in houses. And this is one great advantage towards Trade, which is natural to the Scituation, and not to be attained in any Country where there is not the same level and softness of Soil, which makes the cutting of Canals so easie work as to be attempted almost by every private man: And one Horse will draw in a Boat more than fifty can do by Cart; whereas Carriage makes a great part of the price in all heavy Commodities:

ties: and by this easie way of travelling, an industrious man loses no time from his business, for he writes, or eats, or sleeps while he goes; whereas the time of labouring or industrious men, is the greatest native Commodity of any Country.

There is besides, one very great Lake of fresh water still remaining in the midst of this Province, by the name of *Haerlem Meer*, which might as they say be easily drained, and would thereby make a mighty addition of Land to a Country, where nothing is more wanted; and receive a great quantity of people, in which they abound, and who make their greatness and riches. Much discourse there has been about such an attempt, but the City of *Leyden* having no other way of refreshing their Town, or renewing the water of their Canals, but from this *Meer*, will never consent to it. On the other side, *Amsterdam* will ever oppose the opening and cleansing of the old

Channel of the *Rhine*, which they say might easily be compassed, and by which the Town of *Leyden* would grow Maritime, and share a great part of the Trade now engrossed by *Amsterdam*. There is in *North-Holland* an essay already made at the possibility of draining these great Lakes, by one of about two Leagues broad, having been made firm Land within these forty years: this makes that part of the Country called the *Bemster*, being now the richest Soil of the Province, lying upon a dead flat, divided with Canals, and the ways through it distinguish'd with ranges of Trees, which make the pleasantest Summer-Landschip of any Country I have seen of that sort.

Another advantage of their Scituation for Trade, is made by those two great Rivers of the *Rhine* and *Mose*, reaching up, and navigable so mighty a length into so rich and populous Countrys of the Higer and Lower *Germany*; which as it brings down all the

the Commodities from those parts to the Magazines in *Holland*, that vent them by their Shipping into all parts of the world where the Market calls for them, so with something more labour and time it returns all the Merchandizes of other parts into those Countrys that are seated upon these streams. For their commodious seat as to the Trade of the *Streights*, or *Baltique*, or any parts of the Ocean, I see no advantage they have of most parts of *England*; and they must certainly yield to many we possess, if we had other equal circumstances to value them.

The lowness and flatness of their Lands, makes in a great measure the richness of their Soil, that is easily overflowed every Winter, so as the whole Country at that season seems to lie under water, which in Spring is driven out again by Mills. But that which mends the Earth, spoils the Air, which would be all Fog and Mist, if it were not clear'd by the

sharpneſs of their Froſts, which never fail with every Eaſt-wind for about four Months of the year, and are much fiercer than in the ſame Latitude with us, becauſe that Wind comes to them over a mighty length of dry Continent; but is moiſtned by the Vapours, or ſoftned by the warmth of the Seas motion before it reaches us.

And this is the greateſt diſadvantage of Trade they receive from their Scituation, though neceſſary to their health; becauſe many times their Havens are all shut up for two or three months with Ice, when ours are open and free.

The fierce sharpneſs of theſe Winds, makes the changes of their Weather and Seaſons more violent and ſurprizing than in any place I know; ſo as a warm faint Air turns in a night to a sharp Froſt, with the Wind coming into the North-eaſt; and the contrary with another change of Wind. The Spring is much shorter,

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and less agreeable than with us; the Winter much colder, and some parts of the Summer much hotter. And I have known more than once, the violence of one give way to that of the other, like the cold fit of an Ague to the hot, without any good temper between.

The flatness of their Land exposes it to the danger of the Sea, and forces them to infinite charge in the continual fences and repairs of their Banks to oppose it; which employ yearly more men than all the Corn of the Province of *Holland* could maintain (as one of their chief Ministers has told me). They have lately found the common Sea-weed to be the best material for these Digues, which fastens with a thin mixture of earth, yields a little to the force of the Sea, and returns when the Waves give back: Whether they are thereby the safer against Water, as they say houses that shake are against Wind; or whether, as pious Naturalists observe, all things

carry about them that which ſerves for a remedy againſt the miſchiefs they do in the world.

The extreme moiſture of Air, I take to be the occaſion of the great neatneſs in their Houſes, and cleanneſs in their Towns. For without the help of thoſe Cuſtoms, their Country would not be habitable by ſuch crowds of people, but the Air would corrupt upon every hot ſeaſon, and expoſe the Inhabitants to general and infectious Diſeaſes; which they hardly eſcape three Summers together, eſpecially about *Leyden*, where the Waters are not ſo eaſily renewed: and for this reaſon I ſuppoſe it is that *Leyden* is found to be the neateſt and cleaneſt kept of all their Towns.

The ſame moiſture of Air makes all Metals apt to ruſt, and Wood to mould; which forces them by continual pains of rubbing and ſcouring, to ſeek a prevention or cure: This makes the brightneſs and cleanneſs that

that seems affected in their Houses, and is call'd natural to them, by people who think no further. So the deepness of their Soil, and wetness of Seasons, which would render it unpassable, forces them not only to exactness of paving in their Streets, but to the expence of so long Cawsies between many of their Towns, and in their High-ways. As indeed most National customs are the effect of some unseen or unobserved natural causes or necessities.

CHAP. IV.

Of their People and Diſpoſitions.

THE People of *Holland* may be divided into theſe ſeveral Claſſes: The Clowns or Boors (as they call them), who cultivate the Land. The Mariners or Schippers, who ſupply their Ships and Inland-Boats. The Merchants or Traders, who fill their Towns. The *Renteneers*, or men that live in all their chief Cities upon the Rents or Intereſt of Eſtates formerly acquired in their Families: And the Gentlemen and Officers of their Armies.

The firſt are a race of people diligent rather than laborious; dull and ſlow of underſtanding, and ſo not dealt with by haſty words, but managed eaſily by ſoft and fair; and yielding to plain Reaſon, if you give them time to underſtand it. In the Country

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and Villages, not too near the great Towns, they seem plain and honest, and content with their own; so that if in bounty you give them a shilling for what is worth but a groat, they will take the current price, and give you the rest again; if you bid them take it, they know not what you mean, and sometimes ask if you are a fool. They know no other good, but the supply of what Nature requires, and the common increase of Wealth. They feed most upon Herbs, Roots, and Milks; and by that means I suppose neither their strength nor vigor seems answerable to the size or bulk of their bodies.

The Mariners are a plain, but much rougher people; whether from the Element they live in, or from their Food, which is generally Fish and Corn, and heartier than that of the Boors. They are surly and ill-manner'd, which is mistaken for pride; but I believe is learn'd, as all Manners are, by the Conversation we use. Now

theirs lying only among one another, or with Winds and Waves, which are not mov'd or wrought upon by any language, or obſervance; or to be dealt with, but by pains and by patience: Theſe are all the qualities their Mariners have learn'd; their valour is paſſive rather than active; and their language is little more than what is of neceſſary uſe to their buſineſs.

The Merchants and Trades-men, both the greater and Mechanick, living in Towns that are of great reſort, both by ſtrangers and paſſengers of their own, are more *Mercurial* (Wit being sharpned by commerce and converſation of Cities), though they are not very inventive, which is the gift of warmer heads, yet are they great in imitation, and ſo far, many times, as goes beyond the Originals. Of mighty induſtry, and conſtant application to the ends they propoſe and purſue. They make uſe of their skill and their wit, and take advantage of other mens ignorance and folly

folly they deal with: are great exacters where the Law is in their own hands. In other points where they deal with men that understand like themselves, and are under the reach of Justice and Laws, they are the plainest and best dealers in the world; which seems not to grow so much from a Principle of Conscience or Morality, as from a Custom or Habit introduced by the necessity of Trade among them, which depends as much upon common honesty, as War does upon Discipline; and without which, all would break up, Merchants would turn Pedlars, and Souldiers Thieves.

Those Families which live upon their Patrimonial Estates in all the great Cities, are a people differently bred and manner'd from the Traders, though like them in the modesty of Garb and Habit, and the Parsimony of living. Their Youth are generally bred up at Schools, and at the Universities of *Leyden* or *Utrecht*, in the common studies of Humane Learning,

ing, but chiefly of the Civil Law, which is that of their Country, at leaſt as far as it is ſo in *France* and *Spain*. (For, as much as I underſtand of thoſe Countreys, no Deciſions or Decrees of the Civil Law, nor Conſtitutions of the *Roman* Emperors, have the force or current of Law among them, as is commonly believed, but only the force of Reaſons when alledged before their Courts of Judicature, as far as the Authority of men eſteemed wiſe, paſſes for Reaſon: But the ancient Cuſtoms of thoſe ſeveral Countrys, and the Ordinances of their Kings and Princes, conſented to by the Eſtates, or in *France* verified by Parliaments, have only the ſtrength and authority of Law among them.)

Where theſe Families are rich, their Youths after the courſe of their ſtudies at home, travel for ſome years, as the Sons of our Gentry uſe to do; but their journeys are chiefly into *England* and *France*, not much into *Italy*, ſeldomer into *Spain*; nor often into the

the more Northern Countrys, unless in company or train of their publick Ministers. The chief end of their Breeding is to make them fit for the service of their Country in the Magistracy of their Towns, their Provinces, and their State. And of these kind of men are the Civil Officers of this Government generally composed, being descended of Families who have many times been constantly in the Magistracy of their Native Towns for many years, and some for several ages.

Such were most or all of the chief Ministers, and the persons that composed their chief Counsels, in the time of my residence among them, and not men of mean or Mechanick Trades, as it is commonly received among Forreigners, and makes the subject of Comical Jests upon their Government. This does not exclude many Merchants, or Traders in gross, from being often seen in the Offices of their Cities, and sometimes deputed to their

their States; nor ſeveral of their States, from turning their Stocks in the management of ſome very beneficial Trades by Servants and Houſes maintained to that purpoſe. But the generality of the States and Magiſtrates are of another ſort; their Eſtates conſiſting in the Penſions of their Publick Charges, in the Rents of Lands, or Intereſt of money upon the *Cantores*, or in Actions of the *Eaſt India* Company, or in Shares upon the Adventures of great Trading-Merchants.

Nor do theſe Families, habituated as it were to the Magiſtracy of their Towns and Provinces, uſually arrive to great or exceſſive riches; the Salaries of publick Employments and Intereſt being low, but the Revenue of Lands being yet very much lower, and ſeldom exceeding the profit of two in the hundred. They content themſelves with the honour of being uſeful to the Publick, with the eſteem of their Cities or their Country, and with the eaſe of their Fortunes; which

ſeldom

ſeldom fails, by the frugality of their living, grown univerſal by being (I ſuppoſe) at firſt neceſſary, but ſince honourable among them.

The mighty growth and exceſs of Riches is ſeen among the Merchants and Traders, whoſe application lies better that way, and who are the better content to have ſo little share in the Government, deſiring only ſecurity in what they poſſeſs; troubled with no cares but thoſe of their Fortunes, and the management of their Trades, and turning the reſt of their time and thought to the divertiſement of their lives. Yet theſe, when they attain great wealth, chuſe to breed up their Sons in the way, and marry their Daughters into the Families of thoſe others moſt generally credited in their Cowns, and verſed in their Magiſtracies; and thereby introduce their Families into the way of Government and Honour, which conſiſts not here in Titles, but in publick Employments.

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The next rank among them, is that of their Gentlemen or Nobles, who in the Province of *Holland* (to which I chiefly confine these Observations) are very few, most of the Families having been extinguished in the long Wars with *Spain*. But those that remain, are in a manner all employ'd in the Military or Civil Charges of the Province or State. These are in their Customs, and Manners, and way of living, a good deal different from the rest of the people; and having been bred much abroad, rather affect the Garb of their Neighbour-Courts, than the popular Air of their own Country. They value themselves more upon their Nobility, than men do in other Countreys, where 'tis more common, and would think themselves utterly dishonoured by the marriage of one that were not of their rank, though it were to make up the broken Fortune of a Noble Family, by the wealth of a *Plebean*. They strive to imitate the *French* in their Meen,

Meen, their Clothes, their way of Talk, of Eating, of Gallantry, or Debauchery; and are, in my mind, something worse than they would be, by affecting to be better than they need; making sometimes but ill Copies, whereas they might be good Originals, by refining or improving the Customs and Vertues proper to their own Country and Climate. They are otherwise an honest, well-natur'd, friendly, and gentlemanly sort of men, and acquit themselves generally with Honour and Merit, where their Country employs them.

The Officers of their Armies live after the Customs and Fashions of the Gentlemen; and so do many Sons of the rich Merchants, who returning from travel abroad, have more designs upon their own pleasure, and the vanity of appearing, than upon the service of their Country: Or if they pretend to enter into that, it is rather by the Army than the State. And all these are generally desirous to see a

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Court in their Country, that they may value themselves at home, by the qualities they have learn'd abroad; and make a Figure which agrees better with their own humor, and the manner of Courts, than with the Customs and orders that prevail in more popular Governments.

There are some customs of dispositions that seem to run generally through all these degrees of men among them; as great frugality, and order in their Expences. Their common Riches lie in every man's having more than he spends; or to say it more properly, in every man's spending less than he has coming in, be that what it will. Nor does it enter into mens heads among them, that the common port or course of Expence should equal the Revenue; and when this happens, they think at least they have lived that year to no purpose: and the train of it discredits a man among them, as much as any vicious or prodigal extravagance does in other

other Countrys. This enables every man to bear their extreme Taxes, and makes them less sensible than they would be in other places: For he that lives upon two parts in five of what he has coming in, if he pays two more to the State, he does but part with what he should have laid up, and had no present use for; whereas he that spends yearly what he receives, if he pays but the fiftieth part to the Publick, it goes from him like that which was necessary to buy Bread or Clothes for himself or his Family.

This makes the beauty and strength of their Towns, the commodiousness of Travelling in their Country by their Canals, Bridges, and Cawseys; the pleasantness of their Walks, and their Grafts in and near all their Cities; And in short, the Beauty, Convenience, and sometimes Magnificence of their Publick Works, to which every man pays as willingly, and takes as much pleasure and vanity in them, as those in the Countreys do

do in the same circumstances, among the Possessions of their Families, or private Inheritance. What they can spare, besides the necessary expence of their Domestique, the Publick Payments, and the common course of still encreasing their Stock, Is laid out in the Fabrick; Adornment, or Furniture of their Houses: Things not so transitory or so prejudicial to Health, and to Business, as the constant Excesses and Luxury of Tables; Nor perhaps altogether so vain as the extravagant Expences of Clothes and Attendance; At least these end wholly in a man's self, and the satisfaction of his personal Humour; Whereas the other make not only the Riches of a Family, but contribute much towards the publick Beauty and Honour of a Country.

The order in casting up their Expences, is so great and general, that no man offers at any Undertaking, which he is not prepared for, and Master of his Design before he begins, so as

as I have neither observed nor heard of any Building publick or private, that has not been finished in the time designed for it. So are their Canals, Cawseys, and Bridges; so was their Way from the *Hague* to *Skeveling*, a work that might have become the old *Romans*, considering how soon it was dispatcht. The House at the *Hague*, built purposely for casting of Cannon, was finisht in one Summer, during the heat of the first *English* War, and lookt rather like a design of Vanity in their Government, than Necessity or Use. The Stadthouse of *Amsterdam* has been left purposely to time, without any limitation in the first Design, either of that, or of Expence; both that the Diligence and the Genius of so many succeeding Magistrates, should be employ'd in the collection of all things that could be esteemed proper to encrease the Beauty or Magnificence of that Structure; And perhaps a little to reprieve the experiment of a cur-

rent Prediction, that the Trade of that City should begin to fall the same year the Stadthouse should be finisht, as it did at *Antwerp*.

Charity seems to be very National among them, though it be regulated by Orders of the Country, and not usually mov'd by the common Objects of Compassion. But it is seen in the admirable Provisions that are made out of it for all sorts of persons that can want, or ought to be kept in a Government. Among the many and various Hospitals that are in every man's curiosity and talk that travels their Country, I was affected with none more than that of the aged Seamen at *Enchuysen*, which is contrived, finished, and ordered, as if it were done with a kind intention of some well-natur'd man, that those who had past their whole lives in the Hardships and Incommodities of the Sea, should find a Retreat stor'd with all the Ease and Conveniences that Old-age is capable of feeling and enjoying.

enjoying. And here I met with the only rich man that I ever saw in my life: For one of these old Sea-men entertaining me a good while with the plain Stories of his fifty years Voyages and Adventures, while I was viewing their Hospital, and the Church adjoyning; I gave him at parting a piece of their Coin about the value of a Crown; He took it smiling, & offer'd it me again, but when I refus'd it, he ask'd me what he should do with Mony? for all that ever they wanted, was provided for them at their House. I left him to overcome his Modesty as he could; but a Servant coming after me, saw him give it to a little Girl that open'd the Church door, as she past by him; Which made me reflect upon the fantastick calculation of Riches and Poverty that is current in the world, by which a man that wants a Million, is a Prince; He that wants but a Groat, is a Beggar; and this was a poor man that wanted nothing at all.

In general, all Appetites and Paſſions ſeem to run lower and cooler here, than in other Countreys where I have converſt. Avarice may be excepted. And yet that ſhould not be ſo violent, where it feeds only upon Induſtry and Parſimony, as where it breaks out into Fraud, Rapine, and Oppreſſion. But Quarrels are ſeldom ſeen among them, unleſs in their drink; Revenge rarely heard of, or Jealouſie known. Their Tempers are not aiery enough for Joy, or any unuſual ſtrains of pleaſant Humour; nor warm enough for Love. This is talkt of ſometimes among the younger men, but as a thing they have heard of, rather than felt; and as a diſcourſe that becomes them, rather than affects them. I have known ſome among them that perſonated Lovers well enough, but none that I ever thought were at heart in love; Nor any of the Women that ſeem'd at all to care whether they were ſo or no. Whether

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it be that they are such lovers of their Liberty, as not to bear the servitude of a Mistris, any more than that of a Master; Or that the dulness of their Air renders them less susceptible of more refined Passions; Or that they diverted from it by the general intention every man has upon his business what ever it is; (nothing being so mortal an Enemy of Love, that suffers no Rival, as any bent of thought another way.)

The same Causes may have had the same Effects among their married Women, who have the whole care and absolute management of all their Domestique; And live with very general good Fame; A certain sort of Chastity being hereditary and habitual among them, as Probity among the Men.

The same dulness of Air may dispose them to that strange assiduity and constant application of their minds, with that perpetual Study and Labour upon any thing they design

and take in hand. This gives them patience to pursue the quest of Riches by so long Voyages and Adventures to the *Indies*, and by so long Parsimony as that of their whole Lives. Nay I have (for a more particular example of this Disposition among them) known one man that employ'd four and twenty years about the making and perfecting of a Globe, and another above thirty about the inlaying of a Table. Nor does any man know how much may have been contributed towards the great things in all kinds, both publick and private, that have been atchieved among them by this one Humour of never giving over what they imagine may be brought to pass, nor leaving one scent to follow another they meet with; Which is the property of the lighter and more ingenious Nations; And the Humour of a Government being usually the same with that of the Persons that compose it, Not only in this, but in all other points; so as

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where men that govern, are Wise, Good, Steady and Just, the Government will appear so too; and the contrary where they are otherwise.

The same Qualities in their Air, may encline them to the Entertainments and Customs of Drinking, which are so much laid to their charge, & for ought I know, may not only be necessary to their Health (as they generally believe it), but to the vigour and improvement of their Understandings, in the midst of a thick foggy Air, and so much coldness of Temper and Complexion. For though the use or excess of drinking may destroy men's Abilities who live in better Climates, and are of warmer Constitutions; Wine to hot Brains, being like Oyl to Fire, and making the Spirits by too much lightness, evaporate into smoak; and perfect aiery imaginations; Or by too much heat, rage into Frenzy, or at least into Humours and Thoughts

that have a great mixture of it; Yet on the other side, it may improve men's Parts and Abilities of cold Complexions, and in dull Air; and may be necessary to thaw and move the frozen or unactive Spirits of the Brain; to rowse sleepy Thoughts, and refine grosser Imaginations, and perhaps to animate the Spirits of the Heart, as well as enliven those of the Brain: Therefore the old *Germans* seem'd to have some reason in their Custom, not to execute any great Resolutions which had not been twice debated, and agreed at two several Assemblies, one in an Afternoon, and th'other in a morning; Because they thought their Counsels might want Vigour when they were sober, as well as Caution when they had drunk.

Yet in *Holland* I have observed very few of their chief Officers or Ministers of State vicious in this kind; Or if they drunk much, 'twas only at set-Feasts, and rather to acquit them-

themselves, than of choice or Inclination; And for the Merchants and Traders, with whom it is customary, they never do it in a morning, nor till they come from the Exchange, where the business of the day is commonly dispatcht; Nay, it hardly enters into their heads, that 'tis lawful to drink at all before that time; but they will excuse it if you come to their House, and tell you how sorry they are you come in a morning when they cannot offer you to drink; as if at that time of day it were not only unlawful for them to drink themselves, but so much as for a stranger to do it within their Walls.

The Afternoon, or at least the Evening is given to whatever they find will divert them; And is no more than needs, considering how they spend the rest of the day in Thought, or in Cares; in Toils, or in Business. For Nature cannot hold out with constant labour of Body, and as little with constant bent or application of

mind: Much motion of the same parts of the Brain either wearies and wasts them too fast for repair, or else (as it were) fires the wheels, and so ends either in general decays of the Body or distractions of the Mind. (For these are usually occasion'd by perpetual motions of Thought about some one Object; whether it be about ones self in excesses of Pride, or about another in those of Love, or of Grief.) Therefore none are so excusable as men of much care and thought, or of great business, for giving up their times of leisure to any pleasures or diversions that offend no Laws, nor hurt others or themselves: And this seems the reason that in all Civil Constitutions, not only Honours, but Riches are annexed to the Charges of those who govern, and upon whom the Publick cares are meant to be devolved; Not only that they may not be distracted from these by the cares of their own domestique or private Interests; but that by the help of Esteem,

and

and of Riches, they may have those Pleasures and Diversions in their reach, which idle men neither need nor deserve, but which are necessary for the refreshment or repair of Spirits exhausted with Care and with Toil, and which serve to sweeten and preserve those Lives that would otherwise wear out to fast, or grow too uneasie in the Service of the Publick.

The two Characters that are left by the old *Roman* Writers, of the ancient *Batavi* or *Hollanders*, are, That they were both the bravest among the *German* Nations, and the most obstinate lovers and defenders of their Liberty; Which made them exempted from all Tribute by the *Romans*, who desir'd only Soldiers of their Nation to make up some of their Auxiliary-Bands, as they did in former

Quæruntur (Fabii Valentis) Legiones orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio, veteres illos & tot bellorum auctores non abrumpendos ut corpori validissimas artus. Tacit. Hist.

Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi non multum ex ripa sed Insulam Rheni amnis colunt. Tacit. de Mor. Ger.

Ages of those Nations in *Italy* that were their Friends and Allies. The last Disposition seems to have continued constant and National among them ever since that time, and never to have more appeared than in the Rise and Constitutions of their present State. It does not seem to be so of the First, or that the people in general can be said now to be Valiant, a quality so old so National among them, and which by the several Wars of the Counts of *Holland* (especially with the *Frizons*), and by the desperate Defences made against the *Spaniards* by this people in the beginnings of their State, should seem to have lasted long, and to have but lately decayed; That is, since the whole application of their Natives has been turn'd to Commerce and Trade, and the vein of their Domestique liver so much to Parsimony (by Circumstances

stances which will be the Subject of another Chapter) and since the main of all their Forces, and body of their Army has been composed and continually supplied out of their Neighbour-Nations.

For Soldiers and Merchants are not found by experience to be more incompatible in their abode, than the Dispositions and Customs seem to be different that render a people fit for Trade and for War. The Soldier thinks of a short life and a merry. The Trader reckons upon a long and a painful. One intends to make his Fortune suddenly by his Courage, by Victory, and Spoil: The other slower, but surer, by Craft, by Treaty, and by Industry. This makes the first frank and generous, and throw away upon his Pleasures what has been gotten in one Danger, and may either be lost or repaired in the next. The other wary and frugal, and loath to part with in a day, what he has been labouring for a year, and has no hope

to recover, but by the same paces of Diligence and Time. One aims only to preserve what he has, as the fruit of his Father's pains; or what he shall get, as the fruit of his own: Th'other thinks the price of a little Blood is more than of a great deal of Sweat, and means to live upon other men's Labours, and possess in an hour what they have been years in acquiring: This makes one love to live under stanch Orders and Laws; While th'other would have all depend upon Arbitrary Power and Will. The Trader reckons upon growing Richer, and by his account Better, the longer he lives; which makes him careful of his Health and his Life, and so apt to be orderly and temperate in his Diet; While the Soldier is thoughtless or prodigal of both; and having not his Meat ready at hours, or when he has a mind to it, eats full and greedily whenever he gets it; And perhaps difference of Diet may make greater difference in men's natural

Courage,

Courage, than is commonly thought of.

For Courage may proceed in some measure from the temper of Air, may be form'd by Discipline, and acquir'd by Use, or infus'd by Opinion; But that which is more natural, and so more National in some Countreys than in others, seem to are from the heat or strength of Spirits about the Heart, Which may a great deal depend upon the measure and the substance of the food men are used to. Rhis made a great Physician among us say, He would make any man a Coward with six weeks dietting: and Prince *Maurice* of *Orange* call for the *English* that were newly come over, and had (as he said) their own Beef in their Bellies, for any bold and desperate Action. This may be one reason why the Gentry in all places of the world are braver than the Peasantry, whose hearts are depressed not only by Slavery, but by short and heartless Food, the effect of their Poverty.

Poverty. This is a cause why the Yeomanry and Commonalty of *England* are generally braver than in other Countreys, because by the Plenty and Constitutions of the Kingdom, they are so much easier in their Rents and their Taxes, and fare so much better and fuller than those of their rank in any other Nation. Their chief, & indeed constant food, being of flesh; And among all Creatures, both Birds and the Beasts, we shall still find those that feed upon flesh, to be the fierce and the bold; and on the contrary, the fearful and fainthearted to feed upon Grass, and upon Plants. I think there can be pretended but two Exceptions to this Rule, which are the Cock, and the Horse; whereas the Courage of the first is noted nowhere but in *England*, and there only in certain Races: And for the other, all the Courage we commend in them, is the want of fear; and they are observed to grow much fiercer, whenever by custom

or

or necessity they have been used to flesh.

From all this may be inferr'd, That not only the long disuse of Arms among the Native *Hollanders* (especially at Land), and making use of other Nations chiefly in their Milice; But the Arts of Trade, as well as Peace and their great Parsimony in Diet, and eating so very little flesh (which the common people seldom do above once a week, may have helpt to debase much the ancient Valour of the Nation, at least in the occasions of Service at Land. Their Sea-men are much better; but not so good as those of *Zealand*, who are generally brave; Which I suppose comes by these having upon all occasions turn'd so much more to Privateering, and Men of War; and those of *Holland* being generally employ'd in Trading and Merchant-Ships; While their Men of War are mann'd by Mariners of all Nations, who are very numerous among them, but especially those of the

the Eastland Coasts of *Germany*, *Suedes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*.

'Tis odd, that Veins of Courage should seem to run like Veins of good Earth in a Countrey, and yet not only those of the Province of *Hainault* among the *Spanish*, and of *Gelderland* among the *United Provinces*, are esteemed better Soldiers than the rest; But the Burgers of *Valenciennes* among the Towns of *Flanders*, and of *Nimmeguen* among those of the lower *Gelder*, are observed to be particularly brave. But there may be firmness and constancy of Courage from Tradition, as well as of Belief: Nor methinks should any man know how to be a Coward, that is brought up with the opinion, that all of his Nation or City have ever been Valiant.

I can say nothing of what is usually laid to their charge about their being Cruel, besides what we have so often heard, of their barbarous usage to some of our men in the *East-Indies*, and

and what we have so lately seen of their savage murther of their *Pensioner de Wit*; A Person that deserv'd another Fate, and a better return from his Countrey after Eighteen years spent in their Ministry, without any care of his Entertainments or Ease, and little of his Fortune. A man of unwearied Industry, inflexible constancy, sound, clear, and deep understanding, with unfained Integrity; so that whenever he was blinded it was by the passion he had for that which he esteemed the good and interest of his State. This testimony is justly due to him from all that practised him; and is the more willingly paid, since there can be as little interest to flatter, as honour to reproach the dead. But this action of that people may be attributed to the misfortune of their Countrey; and is so unlike the appearance of their Customs and Dispositions, living as I saw them under the Orders and Laws of a quiet and setled State, and one

must

must confeſs Mankind to be a very various Creature, and none to be known that has not been in his rage, as well as his Drink.

They are generally not ſo long liv'd as in better Airs; and begin to decay early, both men and women, eſpecially at *Amſterdam*; For at the *Hague* (which is their beſt Air) I have known two conſiderable men a good deal above ſeventy, and one of them in very good ſenſe & health: But this is not ſo uſual as it is *England* and in *Spain*. The Diſeaſes of the Climate ſeem to be chiefly the Gout and the Scurvy; but all hot and dry Summers bring ſome that are infectious among them, eſpecially into *Amſterdam* and *Leyden*; Theſe are uſually Fevers that lye moſt in the head, and either kill ſuddenly or languiſh long before they recover. Plagues are not ſo frequent, at leaſt not in a degree to be taken notice of, for all ſuppreſs the talk of them as much as they can, and no diſtinction is made in the Re-

giſter

gister of the dead, nor much in the care and attendance of the sick: Whether from a belief of Predestination, or else a preference of Trade, which is the life of the Countrey, before that of particular men.

Strangers among them are apt to complain of the Spleen, but those of the Countrey seldom or never: which I take to proceed from their being ever busie, or easily satisfied. For this seems to be the Disease of people that are idle, or think themselves but ill entertain'd; and attribute every fit of dull Humour, or Imagination, to a formal Disease, which they have found this Name for; Whereas such Fits are incident to all men at one time or other from the fumes of Indigestion, from the common alterations of some insensible degrees in Health & Vigor*; or

* *Ubi tempestas & cœli mobilis humor*
Mutavere vias, & Jupiter humidus Austris,
Densat, erant quæ rara modo, & quæ densa relaxat.
Vertuntur species animorum, & pectora motus
Nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat
Concipiunt, hinc ille avium concentus in agris
Et lætæ pecudes, & ovantes gutture corvi. Virg. Georg.

or from some changes, or approaches of change in Winds and Weather, which affect the finer Spirits of the Brain, before they grow sensible to other parts; And are apt to alter the shapes or colours of whatever is represented to us by our Imaginations whilst we are so affected. Yet this Effect is not so strong, but that busines, or intention of thought, commonly either resists or diverts it; And those who understand the motions of it, let it pass, and return to themselves. But such as are idle, or know not from whence these changes arise, and trouble their heads with Notions or Schemes of general Happiness or Unhappiness in life; upon every such fit begin reflections on the condition of their Bodies, their Souls, or their Fortunes; And (as all things are then represented in the worst colours) they fall into melancholy apprehensions of one or other, and sometimes of them all; These make deep impression in their minds, and

and are not easily worn out by the natural returns of good Humour especially if they are often interrupted by the contrary; As happens in some particular Constitutions, and more generally in uncertain Climates, especially if improved by accidents of ill health, or ill fortune. But this is a Disease too refin'd for this Countrey and People, who are well, when they are not ill; and pleas'd, when they are not troubled; are content, because they think little of it; and seek their happiness in the common Eases and Commodities of Life, or the encrease of Riches; Not amusing themselves with the more speculative contrivances of Passion, or refinements of Pleasure.

To conclude this Chapter: *Holland* is a Countrey where the Earth is better than the Air, and Profit more in request than Honour; Where there is more Sense than Wit; More good Nature than good Humour; And more Wealth than Pleasure; Where a man

man would chuſe rather to travel, than to live; Shall find more things to obſerve than deſire; And more perſons to eſteem than to love. But the ſame Qualities and diſpoſitions do not value a private man and a State, make a Converſation agreeable, and a Government great: Nor is it unlikely that ſome very great King might make but a very ordinary private Gentleman, and ſome very extraordinary Gentleman, might be capable of making but a very mean Prince.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of their RELIGION.

I Intend not here to speak of Religion at all as a Divine, but as a meer Secular man, when I observe the occasions that seem to have establisht it in the Forms, or with the Liberties wherewith it is now attended in the United Provinces. I believe the Reformed Religion was introduced there, as well as in *England*, & the many other Countreys where it is profess'd, by the operation of Divine will and Providence; And by the same, I believe the *Roman-Catholick* was continued in *France*: Where it seemed by the conspiring of so many Accidents in the beginnings of *Charles* the Ninth's Reign, to be so near a change. And whoever doubts this, seems to question not only the Will, but the power of God. Nor will it at all de-

rogate from the Honour of a Religion, to have been planted in a Countrey by Secular means, or Civil Revolutions, which have, long since, succeeded to those Miraculous Operations that made way for Christianity in the world. 'Tis enough that God Almighty infuses belief into the hearts of men, or else ordains it to grow out of Religious Enquiries and Instructions; And that wherever the generality of a Nation come by these means to be of a belief, it is by the force of this concurrence introduced into the Government, and becomes the esstablisht Religion of that Countrey. So was the Reformed Profession introduced into *England*, *Scotland*, *Sueden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, and many parts of *Germany*. So was the *Roman-Catholick* restor'd in *France* and *Flanders*; where notwithstanding the great Concussions that were made in the Government by the *Hugonots* and the *Gueuses*, yet they were never esteemed in either of those Coun-

Countreys to amount further than the Seventh or Eighth part of the people. And whosoever designs the change of Religion in a Countrey, or Government, by any other means than that of a general conversion of the people, or the greatest part of them, designs all the Mischiefs to a Nation that use to usher in or attend the two greatest Distempers of a State, Civil War, or Tyranny; Which are, Violence, Oppression, Cruelty, Rapine, Intemperance, Injustice, and in short, the miserable Effusion of Human Blood, and the Confusion of all Laws, Orders, and Virtues among men.

Such Consequences as these, I doubt are something more than the disputed Opinions of any man, or any particular Assembly of men can be worth; Since the great and general End of all Religion, next to mens happiness hereafter, is their happiness here; As appears by the Commandments of God, being the best and

greateſt Moral and Civil, as well as Divine Precepts, that have been given to a Nation; And by the Rewards propoſed to the Piety of the *Jews* throughout the Old Teſtament, which were the Bleſſings of this life, as Health, length of Age, number of Children, Plenty, Peace, or Victory.

Now the way to our future happineſs, has been perpetually diſputed throughout the World, and muſt be left at laſt to the Impreſſions made upon every man's Belief and Conſcience, either by natural or ſupernatural Arguments and Means; which Impreſſions men may diſguiſe or diſſemble, but no man can reſiſt. For Belief is no more in a man's power, than his Stature or his Feature; And he that tells me, I muſt change my Opinion for his, becauſe 'tis the truer and the better, without other Arguments, that have to me the force of conviction, may as well tell me, I muſt change my gray eyes for others like

like his that are black, becauſe theſe are lovelier, or more in eſteem. He that tells me, I muſt inform my ſelf; has reaſon, if I do it not: But if I endeavour it all that I can, and perhaps more than he ever did, and yet ſtill differ from him; and he, that it may be is idle, will have me ſtudy on, and inform my ſelf better, and ſo to the end of my life; Then I eaſily underſtand what he means by informing, which is in ſhort, that I muſt do it till I come to be of his opinion.

If he that perhaps purſues his Pleaſures or Intereſts as much or more than I do; and allows me to have as good ſenſe as he has in all other matters; tells me I ſhould be of his opinion, but that Paſſion or Intereſt blinds me; unleſs he can convince me how, or where this lies, he is but where he was, only pretends to know me better than I do my ſelf, who cannot imagine why I ſhould not have as much care of my ſoul, as he has of his.

A man that tells me my opinions are absurd or ridiculous, impertinent or unreasonable, because they differ from his, seems to intend a Quarrel instead of a Dispute; and calls me fool or mad-man with a little more circumstance; though perhaps I pass for one as well in my senses as he, as pertinent in talk, and as prudent in life: yet these are the common Civilities, in Religious Argument, of sufficient and conceited men, who talk much of Right Reason, and mean always their own; and make their private imagination the measure of general Truth. But such language determines all between us, and the Dispute comes to end in three words at last, which it might as well have ended in at first, That he is in the right, and I am in the wrong.

The other great End of Religion, which is our happiness here, has been generally agreed on by all Mankind, as appears in the Records of all their Laws,

Fiunt diversæ respublicæ ex civium

Laws, as well as all their Religions, which come to be eſtablisht by the concurrence of mens Cuſtoms and Opinions: though in the latter, that concurrence may have been produced by Divine Impreſſions or Inſpirations. For all agree in teaching and commanding, in planting and improving, not only thoſe Moral Virtues which conduce to the felicity and tranquillity of every private man's life; but alſo thoſe Manners and Diſpoſitions that tend to the Peace, Order, and Safety of all Civil Societies and Governments among men. Nor could I ever underſtand, how thoſe who call themſelves, and the world uſually calls *Religious Men*, come to put ſo great weight upon thoſe points of Belief which men never have agreed in, and ſo little upon thoſe of Virtue & Morality, in which they have hardly ever diſagreed. Nor why a State ſhould venture the ſubverſion of

moribus qui quacunque fluxerint, cætera ſecum rapiunt. Plat. de Rep.

their Peace, and their Order, which are certain Goods, and so universally esteemed for the propagation of uncertain or contested Opinions.

One of the great Causes of the first Revolt in the *Low-Countreys*, appeared to be, The Oppression of mens Consciences, or Persecution in their Liberties, their Estates, and their Lives, upon pretence of Religion. And this at a time, when there seemed to be a conspiring disposition in most Countreys of Christendom, to seek the reformation of some abuses, grown in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, either by the Rust of time, by Negligence, or by Human Inventions, Passions and Interests. The rigid opposition given at *Rome* to this general Humour, was followed by a defection of mighty numbers in all those several Countreys, who professed to reform themselves according to such Rules as they thought were necessary for the reformation of the Church. These persons, though they

they agreed in the main of disowning the Papal Power, and reducing Belief from the authority of Tradition to that of the Scripture; Yet they differ'd much among themselves in other circumstances, especially of Discipline, according to the Perswasions and Impressions of the Leading-Doctors in their several Countreys. So the Reformed of *France* became universally *Calvinists*; But for those of *Germany*, though they were generally *Lutherans*, yet there was a great mixture both of *Calvinists* and *Anabaptists* among them.

The first Persecutions of these Reformed, arose in *Germany* in the time of *Charles* the Fifth, and drove great numbers of them down into the Seventeen Provinces, especially *Holland* and *Brabant*, where the Priviledges of the Cities were greater, and the Emperor's Government was less severe, as among the Subjects of his own Native Countreys. This was the occasion that in the year 1566, when u-

pon the first Insurrection in *Flanders*, those of the Reformed Profession began to form Consistories, and levy Contributions among themselves, for support of their Common Cause; It was resolved upon consultation among the Heads of them, that for declining all differences among themselves, at a time of common exigence, the publick Profession of their Party should be that of the *Lutherans*, though with liberty and indulgence to those of different Opinions. By the Union of *Utrecht* concluded in 1579, each of the Provinces was left to order the matter of Religion as they thought fit and most conducing to the welfare of their Province; with this provision, that every man should remain free in his Religion, and none be examined or entrapped for that cause, according to the Pacification at *Gant*. But in the year 1583, it was enacted by general agreement, that the Evangelical Religion should be only professed in all the Seven Provinces;

vinces: which came thereby to be the eſtablisht Religion of this State.

The Reaſons which ſeemed to induce them to this ſettlement, were many, and of weight. At firſt, becauſe by the Perſecutions arrived in *France*, (where all the Reformed were *Calviniſts*) multitudes of people had retired out of that Kingdom into the *Low-countreys*; And by the great commerce and continual intercourſe with *England*, where the Reformation agreed much with the *Calviniſts* in point of Doctrine, though more with the *Lutherans* in point of Diſcipline, thoſe Opinions came to be credited and propagated more than any other among the people of theſe Provinces, ſo as the numbers were grown to be greater far in the Cities of this than of any other Profeſſion. Secondly, the Succours and Supplies both of Men and Money, by which the weak beginnings of this Commonwealth were preſerved and fortified, came chiefly from *England*,

from the Proteſtants of *France*, (when their affairs were ſucceſsful,) and from the *Calviniſt* Princes of *Germany*, who lay neareſt, & were readieſt to relieve them. In the next place, becauſe thoſe of this Profeſſion ſeem'd the moſt contrary and violent againſt the *Spaniards*, who made themſelves Heads of the *Roman-Catholicks* throughout Chriſtendom. And the hatred of *Spain* and their Dominions, was ſo rooted in the Hearts of this People, that it had influence upon them in the very choice of their Religion. And laſtly, becauſe by this Profeſſion, all Rights & Juriſdiction of the Clergy or Hierarchy being ſuppreſſed, there was no Eccleſiaſtical Authority left to riſe up and trouble or fetter the Civil Power; And all the Goods and Poſſeſſions of Churches and Abbies were ſeized wholly into the hands of the State, which made a great encreaſe of the publick Revenue, a thing the moſt neceſſary for the ſupport of their Government.

There

There might perhaps be added one Reason more, which was particular to one of the Provinces: for whereas in most, if not all other parts of Christendom, the Clergy composed one of the three Estates of the Countrey, And thereby shar'd with the Nobles and Commons in their Influences upon the Government; that Order never made any parts of the Estates in *Holland*, nor had any Vote in their Assembly, which consisted only of the Nobles and the Cities, and this Province bearing always the greatest sway in the Counsels of the Union, was most enclined to the settlement of that Profession, which gave least pretence of Power or Jurisdiction to the Clergy, and so agreed most with their own ancient Constitutions.

Since this Establishment, as well as before, the great care of this State has ever been, to favour no particular or curious Inquisition into the Faith or Religious Principles of any

peaceable man, who came to live under the protection of their Laws, & to suffer no Violence or Oppression upon any Mans Conscience, whose Opinions broke not out into Expressions or Actions of ill consequence to the State. A free Form of Government either making way for more freedom in Religion, or else having newly contended so far themselves for *Liberty* in this point, they thought it the more unreasonable for them to oppress others. Perhaps while they were so threatned and endanger'd by Forreign Armies, they thought it the more necessary to provide against Discontents within, which can never be dangerous where they are not grounded or fathered upon Oppression in point either of Religion or Liberty. But in those two Cases the Flame often proves most violent in a State, the more 'tis shut up, or the longer concealed.

The *Roman-Catholick* Religion was alone excepted from the common pro-

protection of their Laws, making Men (as the States believed) worse Subjects than the rest, by the acknowledgment of a forreign and superior Jurisdiction; for so must all Spiritual Power needs be, as grounded upon greater Hopes and Fears than any Civil, at least wherever the perswasions from Faith are as strong as those from Sense, of which there are so many Testimonies recorded by the Martyrdoms, Penances, or Conscientious Restraints and Severities, suffered by infinite Persons in all sorts of Religion.

Besides, this Profession seemed still a retainer of the *Spanish* Government, which was then the great Patron of it in the world: yet such was the care of this State to give all men ease in this point, who askt no more than to serve God, and save their own souls, in their own way and forms; that what was not provided for by the Constitutions of their Government, was so, in a very great degree,

degree, by the connivance of their Officers, who upon certain constant Payments from every Family, suffer the exercise of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion in their several Jurisdictions, as free and easie, though not so cheap and so avowed as the rest. This I suppose has been the reason, that though those of this Profession are very numerous in the Countrey, among the Peasants, and considerable in the Cities; and not admitted to any publick charges; Yet they seem to be a sound piece of the State, and fast jointed in with the rest; and have neither given any disturbance to the Government, nor expreſt any inclinations to a change, or to any Forreign Power, either upon the former wars with *Spain*, or the latter invasions of the Bishop of *Munster*.

Of all other Religions, every man enjoys the free exercise in his own Chamber, or his own House, unquestioned and unespied: and if the followers of any Sect grow so numerous

rous in any place that they affect a publick Congregation, and are content to purchase a place of Assembly, to bear the charge of a Pastor or Teacher, and to pay for this Liberty to the Publick; they go and propose their desire to the Magistrates of the place where they reside, who inform themselves of their opinions, and manners of worship; and if they find nothing in either, destructive to Civil Society, or prejudicial to the Constitutions of their State, and content themselves with the price that is offer'd for the purchase of this Liberty, they easily allow it; but with the condition, that one or more Commissioners shall be appointed, who shall have free admission at all their meetings, shall be both the Observers and Witnesses of all that is acted or preached among them, and whose testimony shall be received concerning any thing that passes there to the prejudice of the State; in which case the Laws and Executions are as severe

ſevere as againſt any Civil Crimes.

Thus the *Jews* have their allowed Synagogues in *Amſterdam* and *Rotterdam*. And in the firſt, almoſt all Sects that are known among Chriſtians, have their publik Meeting-places; and ſome whoſe Names are almoſt worn out in all other parts, as the *Browniſts*, *Familiſts*, and others. The *Arminians*, though they make a great Name among them, by being rather the diſtinction of a Party in the State, than a Sect in the Church; yet are, in compariſon of others, but few in number, though conſiderable by the perſons, who are of the better quality, the more learned and intelligent men, and many of them in the Government. The *Anabaptiſts* are juſt the contrary, very numerous, but in the lower ranks of people, Mechanicks and Seamen, and abound chiefly in *North-Holland*.

The *Calviniſts* make the Body of the people, and are poſſeſſed of all the publick Churches in the Dominions

nions of the State, as well as of the only Ministers or Pastors who are maintained by the Publick; But these have neither Lands, nor Tythes, nor any authorized Contributions from the people, but certain Salaries from the State, upon whom they wholly depend: And though they are often very bold in taxing and preaching publickly against the Vices, & sometimes the innocent entertainments of persons most considerable in the Government, as well as of the Vulgar; yet they are never heard to censure or controul the publick Actions or Resolutions of the State: they are in general, throughout the Countrey, passionate Friends to the Interests of the House of *Orange*; And during the intermission of that Authority, found ways of expressing their affections to the Person and Fortunes of this Prince, without offending the State, as it was then constituted. They are fierce Enemies of the *Arminian* Party, whose Principles were

thought

thought to lead them in *Barnevelt*'s time towards a conjunction, or at least compliance with the *Spanish* Religion and Government; both which, the House of *Orange* in the whole course of the War, endeavoured to make irreconcilable with those of the State.

It is hardly to be imagined how all the violence and sharpness, which accompanies the differences of Religion in other Countreys, seems to be appeased or softned here, by the general freedom which all men enjoy, either by allowance or connivance; nor how Faction and Ambition are thereby enabled to colour their Interessed and Seditious Designs, with the pretences of Religion, which has cost the Christian world so much blood for these last Hundred and fifty years. No man can here complain of pressure in his Conscience, Of being forced to any publick profession of his private Faith; Of being restrained from his own manner of worship in his House, Or obliged

obliged to any other abroad: And whoever asks more in point of Religion, without the undiſputed evidence of a particular Miſſion from Heaven, may be juſtly ſuſpected, not to ask for God's ſake, but for his own; ſince pretending to Soveraignty inſtead of Liberty in Opinion, is indeed pretending the ſame in Authority too, which conſiſts chiefly in Opinion; and what Man or Party ſoever, can gain the common and firm belief, of being moſt immediately inſpired, inſtructed, or favoured of God, will eaſily obtain the prerogative of being moſt honour'd and obey'd by men.

But in this Commonwealth, no man having any reaſon to complain of oppreſſion in Conſcience; and no man having hopes by advancing his Religion, to form a Party, or break in upon the State, the differences in Opinion make none in Affections, and little in Converſation, where it ſerves but for entertainment and variety. They argue without intereſt

or

or anger; They differ without enmity or scorn, and they agree without confederacy. Men live together like Citizens of the World, associated by the commonties of Humaity, and by the bonds of Peace, under the impartial protection of indifferent Laws, with equal encouragement of all Art and Industry, and equal freedom of Speculation and Enquiry; all men enjoying their imaginary excellencies and acquisitions of knowledg, with as much safety, as their more real possessions and improvements of Fortune. The power of Religion among them, where it is, lies in every man's heart; the appearance of it, is but like a piece of Humanity, by which every one falls most into the company or conversation of those whose Customs and Humours, whose Talk and Dispositions they like best: and as in other places, 'tis in every man's choice, with whom he will eat or lodg, with whom go to Market, or to Court; so it seems to be here, with whom

whom we will pray or go to Church, or associate in the Service and Worship of God; nor is any more notice taken; or more censure past, of what every one chuses in these cases, than in the other.

I believe the force of Commerce, Alliances, and Acquaintance, spreading so far as they do in small Circuits (such as the Province of *Holland*) may contribute much to make conversation, and all the offices of common life, so easie, among so different Opinions, of which so many several persons are often in every man's eye; and no man cheks or takes offence at Faces, or Customs, or Ceremonies he sees every day, as at those he hears of in places far distant, and perhaps by partial relations, and comes to see late in his life, and after he has long been possest by passion or prejudice against them. However it is, Religion may possibly do more good in other places, but it does less hurt here; And whereever the invisible effects

of

it are the greateſt and moſt advantageous, I am ſure the viſible are ſo in this Countrey, by the continual and undiſturbed Civil Peace of their Government for ſo long a courſe of years; And by ſo mighty an encreaſe of their people, wherein will appear to conſiſt chiefly the vaſt growth of their Trade and Riches, and conſequently the ſtrength and greatneſs of their State.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of their TRADE.

'TIs evident to those who have read the most, and travel'd farthest, that no Country can be found either in this present age, or upon record of any story, where so vast a trade has been managed, as in the row compass of the four Maritime Provinces of this Commonwealth: nay it is generally esteemed, that they have more shipping belongs to them, than there does to all the rest of *Europe*. Yet they have no Native commodities towards the building or rigging of the smallest vessel; their flax, hemp, pitch, wood, and iron, coming all from abroad, as wool does for cloathing their men, and corn for feeding them. Nor do I know any thing properly of their own growth, that is considerable either for their

own necessary use, or for traffick with their Neighbours, besides butter, cheese, and earthen wares. For Havens, they have not any good upon their whole coast: the best are *Helvetsluys*, which has no trade at all; and *Flussingue*, which has little in comparison of other towns in *Holland*: but *Amsterdam*, that triumphs in the spoils of *Lisbon* and *Antwerp* (which before engrost the greatest trade of *Europe* and the *Indies*) seems to be the most incommodious haven they have, being seated upon so shallow waters, that ordinary Ships cannot come up to it without the advantage of tides; nor great ones without unlading. The entrance of the *Tessel*, and passage over the *Zudder-Sea*, is more dangerous than a Voyage from thence to *Spain*, lying all in blind and narrow channels; so that it easily appears, that 'tis not a haven that draws trade, but trade that fills a haven, and brings it in vogue. Nor has *Holland* grown rich by any Native

tive commodities, but by force of Industry; by improvement and manufacture of all forreign growths; by beingh the general Magazine of *Europe*, and furnishing all parts with whatever the Market wants or invites; and by their sea-men being, as they have properly been call'd, the common Carriers of the World.

Since the ground of trade cannot be deduced from havens, or native commodities (as may well be concluded from the survey of *Holland*, which has the least and the worst; and of *Ireland*, which has the most and the best, of both); it were not amiss to consider, from what other source it may be more naturally and certainly derived: for if we talk of Industry, we are still as much to seek what it is that makes people industrious in one Countrey, and idle in another. I conceive the true original & ground of trade, to be great multitudes of people crowded into small compass of Land, whereby all things necessary

to life become dear, and all men who have poſſeſſions, are induced to Parſimony; but thoſe who have none, are forced to induſtry and labour, or elſe to want. Bodies that are vigorous, fall to labour; Such as are not, ſupply that defect by ſome ſort of Inventions or ingenuity. Theſe Cuſtoms ariſe firſt from neceſſity, but encreaſe by imitation, and grow in time to be habitual in a Countrey; and wherever they are ſo, if it lies upon the ſea, they naturally break out into trade, both becauſe whatever they want of their own that is neceſſary to ſo many mens lives, muſt be ſupply'd from abroad; and becauſe by the multitude of people, and ſmallneſs of Countrey, Land grows ſo deer, that the improvement of money that way is inconſiderable, and ſo turns to ſea where the greatneſs of the Profit makes amends for the Venture.

This cannot be better illuſtrated by contrary, which appear nowhere more than in *Ireland*; where by

by the largeneſs and plenty of the ſoil, and ſcarcity of people, all things neceſſary to life are ſo cheap, that an induſtrious man, by two days labour, may gain enough to feed him the reſt of the week; which I take to be a very plain ground of the lazineſs attributed to the people: for men naturally prefer eaſe before labour, and will not take pains if they can live idle; though, when by neceſſity they have been inured to it, they cannot leave it, being grown a cuſtom neceſſary to their health, and to their very entertainment: nor perhaps is the change harder, from conſtant eaſe, to labour, than from conſtant labour to eaſe.

This account of the Original of trade, agree, with the experience of all ages, and with the Conſtitutions of all places where it has moſt flouriſhed in the world, as *Tyre*, *Carthage*, *Athens*, *Syracuſe*, *Agrigentum*, *Rhodes*, *Venice*, *Holland*; and will be ſo obvious to every man, that knows and

conſiders the ſcituation, the extent and the nature of all thoſe Countreys, that it will need no enlargement upon the compariſons.

By theſe examples, which are all of Commonwealths, and by the decay or diſſolution of trade in the ſix firſt, when they came to be conquered or ſubjected to Arbitrary Dominion, it might beconcluded, that there is ſomething in that form of Government proper and natural to trade in a more peculiar manner. But the height it arrived to at *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, under their Princes, for four or five deſcents of the houſe of *Burgundy*, and two of *Auſtria* shows it may thrive under good Princes and legal Monarchies, as well as under Free States. Under arbitrary and tyrannical Power, it muſt of neceſſity decay and diſſolve; becauſe this empties a Countrey of people, whereas the others fill it; this extinguiſhes induſtry, whilſt men are in doubt of enjoying themſelves what they get, or leaving

leaving it to their Children; the others encourage it, by securing men of both: One fills a Countrey with Soldiers, and the other with Merchants; who were never yet known to live well together, because they cannot trust one another: and as trade cannot live without mutual trust among private men; so it cannot grow or thrive to any great degree; without a confidence both of publick and private safety, and consequently a trust in the Government, from an opinion of strength, wisdom, and justice; which must be grounded either upon the personal Virtues and Qualities of a Prince, or else upon the Constitutions and Orders of a State.

It appears to every mans eye who hath travell'd *Holland*, and observed the number and vicinity of their great and populous towns and villages, with the prodigious improvement of almost every spot of ground in the Countrey, and the great multitudes

constantly employ'd in their shipping abroad, and their boats at home, that no other known Countrey in the world, of the same extent, holds any proportion with this in numbers of people; and if that be the great foundation of trade, the best account that can be given of theirs, will be, by considering the causes and accidents that have served to force or invite so vast a confluence of people into their Countrey. In the first rank may be placed, the Civil-Wars, Calamities, Persecutions, Oppressions, or Discontents, that have been so fatal to most of their Neighbours, for some time before as well as since their State began.

The Persecutions for matter of Religion, in *Germany* under *Charles* the Fifth, in *France* under *Henry* the the Second, and in *England* under Queen *Mary*, forced great numbers people out of all those Countreys, to shelter themselves in the several towns of the Seventeen Provinces, where

where the ancient Liberties of the Countrey, and Priviledges of the Cities, had been inviolate under so long a succession of Princes, and gave protection to these oppressed strangers, who fill'd their Cities both with people and trade, and raised *Antwerp* to such a height and renown, as continued till the Duke of *Alva's* arrival in the *Town-Countreys*. The fright of this man, and the Orders he brought, and Armies to execute them, began to scatter the Flock of people that for some time had been nested there; so as in very few Months above a Hundred thousand Families removed out of the Countrey. But when the Seven Provinces united, and began to defend themselves with success, under the conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, and the countenance of *England* and *France*, and the Persecutions for Religion began to grow sharp in the *Spanish* Provinces, all the Professors of the reformed Religion, and haters of the *Spanish* Dominion,

retir'd into the ſtrong cities of this Common-wealth, and gave the ſame date to the growth of trade there, & the decay of it at *Antwerp*.

The long Civil-Wars, at firſt of *France*, then of *Germany*, and laſtly of *England*, ſerved to encreaſe the ſwarm in this Countrey, not only by ſuch as were perſecuted at home, but great numbers of peaceable men, who came here to ſeek for quiet in their Lives, and ſafety in their Poſſeſſions or Trades; like thoſe Birds that upon approach of a rough Winter-ſeaſon, leave the Countreys where they were born & bred, flye away to ſome kinder and ſofter Climate, and never return till the froſts are paſt, and the winds are laid at home.

The invitation theſe people had, to fix rather in *Holland* than in many better Countreys, ſeems to have been at firſt, the great ſtrength of their towns, which by their maritime ſituation, and the low flatneſs of their Countrey, can with their ſluces over-

flow

flow all the ground about them at such distances, as to become inaccessable to any Land-Forces. And this natural strength has been improv'd, especially at *Amsterdam*, by all the art and expence that could any ways contribute towards the defence of the place.

Next was the Constitution of their Government, by which, neither the States-General nor the Prince have any power to invade any man's person or Property within the precincts of their cities. Nor could it be fear'd that the senate of any town should conspire to any such violence; nor if they did, could they possibly execute it, having no Soldiers in their pay, and the Burgers only being employ'd in the defence of their towns, and execution of all Civil Justice among them.

These Circumstances gave so great a credit to the bank of *Amsterdam*; and that was another invitation for people to come, and lodg here what

part of their Money they could transport, and knew no way of securing at home. Nor did those people only lodg Moneys here, who came over into the Countrey; but many more who never left their own; though they provided for a retreat, or against a storm, and thought no place so secure as this, nor from whence they might so easily draw their money into any parts of the World.

Another circumstance, was the general liberty and ease, not only in point of Conscience, but all others that serve to the commodiousness and quiet of life; every man following his own business, and little enquiring into other mens; which I suppose happen'd by so great a concourse of people of several Nations, different Religions and Customs, as left nothing strange or new, and by the general humour, bent all upon industry, whereas Curiosity is only proper to idle men.

Besides,

Besides, it has ever been the great Principle of their State, running through all their Provinces and Cities, even with emulation, to make their Countrey the common refuge of all miserable men; from whose protection hardly any Alliance, treaties, or Interests, have ever been able to divert or remove them. So as during the great dependance this State had upon *France*, in the time of *Henry* the fourth all the persons disgraced at that Court, or banisht that Countrey, made this their common retreat; nor could the State ever be prevail'd with, by any instances of the *French* Ambassadors, to refuse them the use and liberty of common life and air, under the protection of their Government.

This firmness in the State, has been one of the circumstances that has invited so many unhappy men out of all their Neighbourhood, and indeed from most parts of *Europe*, to shelter themselves from the blows of Justice,

or of Fortune. Nor indeed does any Countrey seem so proper to be made use of upon such occasions, not only in respect of safety, but as a place that holds so constant and easie correspondencies with all parts of the world; and whither any man may draw whatever money he has at his disposal in any other place; where neither riches expose men to danger, nor poverty to contempt; but on the contrary, where Parsimony is honourable, whether it be necessary or no; and he that is forced by his Fortune to live low, may here alone live in fashion, and upon equal terms (in appearance abroad) with the chiefest of their Ministers, and richest of their Merchants: nor is it easily imagin'd how great an effect this Constitution among them, may in course of time have had upon the encrease both of their people and their trade.

As the two first invitations people into this Countrey, were the strength

ſtrength of their towns, and nature of their Government; ſo two others have grown with the courſe of time, and progreſs of their Riches and Power. One is the Reputation of their Government, ariſing from the obſervation of the Succeſs of their Arms, the Prudence of their Negotiations, the Steddineſs of their Counſels, the Conſtancy of their Peace and Quiet at home, and the Conſideration they hereby arrived at among the Princes and States of Chriſtendom. From all theſe, men grew to a general opinion of the Wiſdom and Conduct of their State; and of its being eſtabliſht upon foundations that could not be ſhaken by any common Accidents, nor conſequently in danger of any great or ſudden Revolutions; and this is a mighty inducement to induſtrious people to come and inhabit a Countrey, who ſeek not only ſafety under laws from injuſtice & oppreſſion, but likewiſe under the ſtrength and good conduct of a State, from

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the violence of Forreign Invasions, or of Civil Commotions.

The other, is the great Beauty of their Countrey (forced in time, and by the improvements of industry, in spight of Nature,) which draws every day such numbers of curious and idle persons to see their Provinces, though not to inhabit them. And indeed their Countrey is a much better Mistress than a Wife; and where few persons who are well at home, would be content to live; but where none that have time and money to spare, would not for once be willing to travel; and as *England* shows, in the Countrey, what Nature can arrive at; so does *Holland* in the number, greatness, and beauty of their towns, whatever art can bring to pass. But these and many other matters of Speculation among them, filling the Observations of all common Travellers, shall make no part of mine, whose design is rather to discover the Causes of their Trade

and

and Riches, than to relate the Effects.

Yet it may be noted hereupon, as a piece of wisdom in any Kingdom or State, by the Magnificence of Courts, or of publick Structures; by encouraging beauty in private buildings, and the adornment of towns with pleasant and regular plantations of trees; by the celebration of some noble festivals or solemnities; by the institution of some great Marts or Fairs; and by the contrivance of any extraordinary and renowned spectacles, to invite and occasion, as much and as often as can be, the concourse of busie or idle people from the neighbouring or remoter nations, whose very passage and intercourse is a great encrease of wealth and of Trade, and a secret incentive of people to inhabit a Countrey where men may meet with equal advantages, and more entertainments of life, than in other places. Such were the *Olimpick* and other games among the *Grecians*; such the

the triumphs, trophees, and ſecular plays of old *Rome*, as well as the ſpectacles exhibited afterwards by the Emperors, with ſuch ſtupendious effects of art and expence, for courting or entertaining the people; ſuch the jubilees of new *Rome*; the juſts and tournaments formerly uſed in moſt of the Courts of Chriſtendom; the feſtivals of the more celebrated orders of Knighthood, and in particular towns, the Carnavals and Fairs; the Kirmeſhes which run through all the Cities of the *Netherlands*, and in ſome of them, with a great deal of Pageantry, as well as Traffick, being equal baits of Pleaſure and of Gain.

Having thus diſcover'd what has laid the great Foundations of their Trade, by the multitude of their people, which has planted and habituated induſtry among them, and by that, all ſorts of Manufacture; as well as Parſimony, and thereby general Wealth: I ſhall enumerate very briefly, ſome other Circumſtances, that

that seem, next to these, the chief Advancers and Encouragers of Trade in their Countrey.

Low Interest, and deerness of Land, are effects of the multitude of people, and cause so much money to lye ready for all projects, by which gain may be expected, as the cutting of Canals, making Bridges and Cawsies, leveling downs, and draining marshes, besides all new essays at forreign Trade, which are proposed with any probability of advantage.

The use of their banks, which secures Money, and makes all Payments easie, and Trade quick.

The sale by registry, which was introduced here and in *Flanders* in the time of *Charles* the Fifth, and makes all purchases safe.

The severity of Justice, not only against all thefts, but all cheats, and countrefeits of any publick bills (which is capital among them,) and even against all common beggars, who are disposed of either into work-

houses,

houſes, or Hoſpitals, as they are able or unable to labour.

The Convoys of Merchant-Fleets into all parts, even in time of peace, but eſpecially into the *Streights*; which give their Trade ſecurity againſt many unexpected accidents, and their Nation credit abroad, and breeds up ſeamen for their ships of war.

The lowneſs of their cuſtoms, and eaſineſs of paying them, which, with the freedom of their ports, invite both ſtrangers and natives to bring commodities hither, not only as to a Marker, but as to a Magazine, where they lodg till they are invited abroad to other and better Markets.

Order and exactneſs in managing their Trade, which brings their commodities in credit abroad. This was firſt introduced by ſever laws and penalties, but is ſince grown into cuſtom. Thus there have been above thirty ſeveral placarts about the manner of curing, pickling, and barreling Herrings. Thus all arms made at *Utrecht*,

trecht, are forfeited if ſold without mark, or marked without trial. And I obſerved in their *Indian*-Houſe, that all the pieces of ſcarlet, which are ſent in great quantities to thoſe parts, are marked with the *Engliſh* Arms, and iuſcriptions in *Engliſh*; by which they maintain the credit gain'd to that commodity, by our former trade to parts where 'tis now loſt or decay'd.

The Government manag'd either by men that trade, or whoſe Families have riſen by it, or who have themſelves ſome intereſt going in other men's traffick, or who are born and bred in towns, the ſoul and being whereof conſiſts wholly in trade, which makes ſure of all favour that from time to time grows neceſſary and can be given it by the Government.

The cuſtom of every towns affecting ſome particular commerce or ſtaple, valuing it ſelf thereupon, and ſo improving it to the greateſt height,

as

as *Flussingue* by that of the *West Indies*, *Middleburgh* of *French*-Wines, *Terveer* by the *Scotch* Staple, *Dort* by the *English* Staple & *Rhenish* Wines, *Rotterdam* by the *English* and *Scotch* Trade at large, and by *French*-Wines, *Leyden* by the Manufacture of all sorts of Stuffs, Silk, Hair, Gold and Silver; *Haerlem* by Linnen, Mixt-Stuffs, and Flowers, *Delf* by Beer and *Dutch*-Purcelane; *Sardam* by the built of Ships; *Enchuysen* and *Mazlandsluys*, by Herring-fishing; *Friezland* by the *Greenland*-Trade, and *Amsterdam* by that of the *East-Indies*, *Spain*, and the *Streights*.

The great application of the whole Province to the Fishing-Trade, upon the Coasts of *England* and *Scotland*, which employs an incredible number of ships and sea-men, and supplies most of the Southern parts of *Europe* with a rich and necessary Commodity.

The last I shall mention, is the mighty advance they have made towards

wards engroſſing the whole commerce of the *Eaſt-Indies*, by their ſucceſſes againſt the *Portegueſſes*, and by their many wars and victories againſt the natives, whereby they have forced them to treaties of commerce, excluſive to all other nations, and to the admiſſion of forts to be built upon ſtreights & paſſes that command the entrances into the traffique of ſuch places. This has been atchieved by the multitude of their people and Mariners, that has been able to furniſh every year ſo many great ships for ſuch Voyages, and to ſupply the loſs of ſo many lives as the changes of climate have coſt, before they learnt the method of living in them: by the vaſtneſs of the ſtock that has been turn'd wholly to that Trade; and by the conduct and application of the *Eaſt-Indy* Company, who have managed it like a common wealth rather than a Trade; and thereby raiſed a State in the *Indies*, governed indeed by the orders of the Company, but other-

otherwise appearing to those nations like a Soveraign State, making war and peace with their greatest Kings, and able to bring to sea forty or fifty men of war, and thirty thousand men at Land, by the modestest computations. The stock of this trade, besides what it turns of in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, the *Streights*, and *Germany*, makes them so great Masters in the Trade, of the Northern parts of *Europe*, as *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Pomerania*, and all the *Baltique*; where the spices, that are an *Indian* Drug, and *European*-Luxury, command all commodities of those Countreys, which are so necessary to life; as their corn; and to navigation, as hemp, pitch, masts, planks, and iron.

Thus the Trade of this Country is discover'd to be no effect of common contrivances, of natural dispositions or scituations, or of trivial accidents; but of a great concurrence of circumstances, a long course of time, force of orders and method, which never before

before met in the world to such a degree, or with so prodigious a success, and perhaps never will again. Having grown (to sum up all) from the situation of their Countrey, extended upon the sea, divided by two such Rivers as the *Rhine* and the *Mose*, with the vicinity of the *Ems*, *Weser*, and *Elve*; From the confluence of people out of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, invited by the strength of their towns, and by the Constitutions and credit of their Government; by the liberty of Conscience, and security of life and goods (subjected only to constant laws;) from general industry and parsimony occasion'd by the multitude of people & smallness of Country; from cheapness and easiness of Carriage by convenience of Canals; from low use and deerness of Land, which turn money to trade; the institution of banks, sale by registry; care of convoys; smallness of customs; freedom of ports; order in trade; interest

of persons in the Government; particular Traffick affected to particular places; application to the Fishery; and acquisitions in the *East-Indies*.

It is no constant Rule, that Trade makes Riches; for there may be a Trade that impoverishes a Nation: As it is not going often to Market that enriches the Country-man; but on the contrary, if every time he comes there, he buys to a greater value than he sells, he grows the poorer the oftner he goes: but the only and certain scale of riches arising from Trade in a Nation, is the proportion of what is exported for the consumption of others, to what is imported for their own.

The true ground of this proportion lies in the general industry and parsimony of a people, or in the contrary of both. Industry increases the native Commodity, either in the product of the Soil, or the Manufactures of the Country, which raises the stock for exportation. Parsimony lessens the con-

consumption of their own, as well as of forreign commodities; and not only abate the importation by the last, but increases the exportation by the first: for of all native Commodities, the less is consumed in a Country, the more is exported abroad; there being no Commodity, but at one price or other will find a Market, which they will be masters of, who can afford it cheapest. Such are always the most industrious and parsimonious people, who can thrive by prices upon which the lazy and expensive cannot live.

The vulgar mistake, that importation of forreign Wares, if purchased abroad with native Commodities, and not with money, does not make a Nation poorer; is but what every man that gives himself leisure to think, must immediately rectifie, by finding out, that upon the end of an account between a Nation and all they deal with abroad, whatever the exportation wants in value to balance that of

the Importation, must of necessity be made up with ready money.

By this we find out the foundation of the riches of *Holland*, as of their Trade by the circumstances already rehearsed. For never any Country traded so much, and consumed so little. They buy infinitely, but 'tis to sell again either upon improvement of the Commodity, or at a better Market. They are the great masters of the *Indian* Spices, and of the *Persian* Silks; but wear plain Woollen, and feed upon their own Fish and Roots. Nay, they sell the finest of their own Cloath to *France*, and buy course out of *England* for their own wear. They send abroad the best of their own Butter into all parts, and buy the cheapest out of *Ireland*, or the North of *England*, for their own use. In short, they furnish infinite Luxury, which they never practise; and traffick in pleasures which they never taste.

The Gentlemen and Officers of the Army

Army change their Clothes and their Modes like their Neighbours. But among the whole body of the Civil Magistrates, the Merchants, the rich Traders, and Citizens in general, the Fashions continue still the same; and others as constant among the Sea-men and Boors: So that men leave off their Clothes only because they are worn out, and not because they are out of fashion.

Their great forreign consumption is *French* Wine and *Brandy*; but that may be allow'd them, as the only reward they enjoy of all their pains, and as that alone which makes them rich and happy in their voluntary poverty, who would otherwise seem poor and wretched in their real wealth. Besides, what they spend in Wine, they save in Corn to make other Drinks, which is bought from other parts. And upon a pressure of their Affairs, we see now for two years together, they have deny'd themselves even this comfort, among all their sorrows,

and made up in passive fortitude whatever they have wanted in the active.

Thus it happens, that much going constantly out either in Commodity, or in the labour of Seafaring-men; and little coming in to be consumed at home, the rest returns in Coin, and fills the Country to that degree, that more Silver is seen in *Holland* among the common hands and purses, than Brass either in *Spain* or in *France*; though one be so rich in the best native Commodities, and the other drain all the Treasures of the *West-Indies*.

By all this account of their Trade and Riches, it will appear, that some of our Maxims are not so certain as they are current in our common politicks. As first, that example and encouragement of excess and luxury, if employ'd in the consumption of native Commodities, is of advantage to Trade: It may be so to that which impoverishes, but is not to that which enri-

enriches a Country; and is indeed leſs prejudicial if it lie in native than in forreign Wares. But the cuſtom or humour of luxury and expence, cannot ſtop at certain bounds: What begins in native will proceed in forreign Commodities; and though the example ariſe among idle perſons, yet the imitation will run into all degrees, even of thoſe men by whoſe induſtry the Nation ſubſiſts. And beſides, the more of our own we ſpend, the leſs we ſhall have to ſend abroad; and ſo it will come to paſs, that while we drive a vaſt Trade, yet by buying much more than we ſell, we ſhall come to be poor; whereas when we drove a very ſmall Traffick abroad, yet by ſelling ſo much more than we bought, we were very rich in proportion to our Neighbours. This appear'd in *Edward* the Third's time; when we maintain'd ſo mighty Wars in *France*, and carried our victorious Arms into the heart of *Spain*; whereas in the 28. year of that King's reign,

the value and custom of all our exported Commodities amounted to 294184 *l.*--17*s.*--2*d.* And that of our imported, but to 38970*l.*--03*s.*--06*d.* So as there must have enter'd that year into the Kingdom in Coin or Bullion (or else have grown a Debt to the Nation) 255214*l.*---13*s.*---08*d.* And yet we then carried out our Wools unwrought, and brought in a great part of our Clothes from *Flanders.*

Another common Maxim is, That if by any forreign Invasion or Servitude, the State, and consequently the Trade of *Holland* should be ruin'd, the last would of course fall to our share in *England*; which is no consequence: for it would certainly break into several pieces, and shift either to us, to *Flanders*, to the *Hans*-Towns, or any other parts, according as the most of those circumstances should any where concur to invite it (and the likest to such,) as appear to have formerly drawn it into *Holland*,

by

by so mighty a confluence of people; and so general a vein of industry and parsimony among them. And whoever pretends to equal their growth in Trade and Riches, by other ways than such as are already enumerated, will prove, I doubt, either to deceive, or to be deceived.

A third is, That if that State were reduced to great extremities, so as to become a Province to some greater power, they would chuse our subjection rather than any other, or those at least that are the Maritime and the richest of the Provinces. But it will be more reasonably concluded from all the former discourses, that though they may be divided by absolute Conquests, they will never divide themselves by consent, but all fall one way, and by common agreement make the best terms they can for their Country as a Province, if not as a State: and before they come to such an extremity, they will first seek to be admitted as a *Belgick*-Circle in the

Empire (which they were of old;) and thereby receive the protection of that mighty Body, which (as far as great and ſmaller things may be compar'd) ſeems the likeſt their own ſtate in its main Conſtitutions, but eſpecially in the freedom or ſovereignty of Imperial Cities. And this I have often heard their Miniſters ſpeak of, as their laſt refuge, in caſe of being threatned by too ſtrong and fatal a Conjuncture.

And if this should happen, the Trade of the Provinces would rather be preſerved or increaſed, than any way broken or deſtroy'd by ſuch an alteration of their State, becauſe the liberties of the Countrey would continue what they are, and the ſecurity would be greater than now it is.

The laſt I will mention, is of another vein; That if the Prince of *Orange* were made Sovereign of their Country, though by forreign Arms, he would be a great Prince, becauſe this now appears to be ſo great a State.

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Whereas, on the contrary, those Provinces would soon become a very mean Country. For such a power must be maintain'd by force, as it would be acquir'd, and as indeed all Absolute Dominion must be in those Provinces. This would raise general Discontents; and those, perpetual Seditions among the Towns, which would change the orders of the Country, endanger the property of private men, and shake the credit and safety of the Government. Whenever this should happen, the people would scatter, Industry would faint, Banks would dissolve, and Trade would decay to such a degree, as probably in course of time, their very Digues would be no longer maintain'd by the defences of a weak people against so furious an Invader, but the Sea would break in upon their Land, and leave their chiefest Cities to be Fisher-Towns, as they were of old.

Without any such great Revolutions, I am of opinion, that Trade has

for ſome years ago paſt its Meridian, and begun ſenſibly to decay among them; whereof there ſeem to be ſeveral cauſes: as firſt, The general application that ſo many other Nations have made to it, within theſe two or three and twenty years. For ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, which reſtor'd the quiet of Chriſtendom in 1648, not only *Sueden* and *Denmark*, but *France* and *England* have more particularly than ever before, buſied the thoughts and counſels of their ſeveral Governments, as well as the humors of their People, about the matters of Trade.

Nor has this happen'd without good degrees of ſucceſs; though Kingdoms of ſuch extent, that have other and nobler Foundations of Greatneſs, cannot raiſe Trade to ſuch a pitch as this little State, which had no other to build upon; no more than a man, who has a large and plentiful Eſtate, can fall to labour and induſtry, like one that has nothing elſe

to

to truſt to for the ſupport of his life. But however, all theſe Nations have come of late to ſhare largely with them; and there ſeem to be grown too many Traders for Trade in the world, ſo as they can hardly live one by another. As in a great and populous Village, the firſt Grocer or Mercer that ſets up among them, grows preſently rich, having all the cuſtom; till another, encouraged by his ſucceſs, comes to ſet up by him, and ſhare in his gains: at length ſo many fall to the Trade, that nothing is got by it; and ſome muſt give over, or all muſt break.

Not many Ages paſt, *Venice* and *Florence* poſſeſt all the Trade of *Europe*; the laſt by their Manufactures; but the firſt by their Shipping: and the whole Trade of *Perſia* and the *Indies*, whoſe Commodities were brought (thoſe by Land, and theſe by the *Arabian*-Sea) to *Egypt*, from whence they were fetcht by the *Venetian* Fleets, and diſperſed into moſt of

the parts of *Europe*: And in those times we find the whole Trade of *England* was driven by *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Lombards*. The *Easterlings*, who were the Inhabitants of the *Hans* Towns, as *Dantzick*, *Lubeck*, *Hamburgh*, and others upon that Coast, fell next into Trade, and managed all that of these Northern parts for many years, and brought it first down to *Bruges*, and from thence to *Antwerp*. The first Navigations of the *Portuguezes* to the *East-Indies*, broke the greatness of the *Venetian* Trade, and drew it to *Lisbon*: and the Revolt of the *Netherlands*, that of *Antwerp* to *Holland*. But in all this time, the other and greater Nations of *Europe* concern'd themselves little in it; their Trade was War; their Counsels and Enterprises were busied in the quarrel of the *Holy Land*, or in those between the Popes and the Emperors (both of the same forge, engaging all Christian Princes, and ending in the greatness of the Ecclesiastical State

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throughout Chriſtendom:) Sometimes in the mighty Wars between *England* and *France*, between *France* and *Spain:* The more general, between *Chriſtian* and *Turks*; or more particular quarrel between leſſer and neighbouring-Princes. In short, the Kingdoms and Principalities were in the world like the Noblemen and Gentlemen in a Country: the Free-States and Cities, like the Merchants and Traders: theſe at firſt deſpiſed by the others; the others ſerv'd and rever'd by them; till by the various courſe of events in the world, ſome of theſe came to grow rich and powerful by Induſtry and Parſimony, and ſome of the others poor, by War and by Luxury: which made the Traders be in to take upon them, and carry it like Gentlemen; and the Gentlemen begin to take a fancy of falling to Trade. By this ſhort account it will appear no wonder, either that particular places grew ſo rich and ſo mighty, while they alone enjoyed almoſt

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the general Trade of the world; nor why not only the Trade in *Holland*, but the advantage of it in general, should seem to be lessen'd by so many that share in it.

Another cause of its decay in that State, may be, that by the mighty progress of their *East-India* Company, the Commodities of that Country are grown more than these parts of the world can take off; and consequently the rates of them must needs be lessen'd, while the charge is increas'd by the great Wars, the Armies, and Forts, necessary to maintain or extend the acquisitions of that Company in the *Indies*. For instead of five or six *East-India* Ships, which used to make the Fleet of the year, they are now risen to eighteen or twenty (I think two and twenty came in one year to the *United Provinces*.) This is the reason why the particular persons of that Company in *Holland*, make not so great advantage of the same Stock, as those of ours do in *England*;

England; though their company be very much richer, and drives a far greater Trade than ours, which is exhausted by no charge of Armies, or Forts, or Ships of War: And this is the reason that the *Dutch* are forced to keep so long and so much of those Commodities in their Magazines here, and to bring them out, only as the Markets call for them, or are able to take off; and why they bring so much less from the *Indies*, than they were able to do, if there were vent enough here: As I remember one of their Sea men, newly landed out of their *East-India* Fleet in the year 69, upon discourse in a Boat between *Delf* and *Leyden*, said he had seen, before he came away, three heaps of Nutmegs burnt at a time, each of which was more than a small Church could hold, which he pointed at in a Village that was in sight.

Another cause may be the great cheapness of Corn, which has been for these dozen years or more, gene-

ral in all these parts of *Europe*, and which has a very great influence upon the Trade of *Holland*. For a very great vent of *Indian* Commodities (at least the Spices, which are the gross of them) used to be made into the Northern parts of *Europe*, in exchange for Corn, while it was taken off at good rates by the Markets of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*; in all which Countreys it has of late years gone so low, as to discourage the Import of so great quantities as used to come from [illegible] and *Prussia*, and other parts of the North. Now the less value those Nations receive for Corn, the less they are able to give for Spice, which is a great loss to the *Dutch* on both sides, lessening the vent of their *Indian* Ware in the Northern, and the traffick of Corn in the Southern parts. The cause of this great cheapness of Corn seems to be, not so much a course of plentiful and seasonable years, as the general Peace that has been in *Europe* since the year 59 or

59 or 60; by which ſo many men and ſo much Land have been turned to Husbandry, that were before employ'd in the Wars, or lay waſted by them in all the Frontier-Provinces of *France* and *Spain*, as well as throughout *Germany*, before the Peace of *Munſter*; and in *England*, during the actions or conſequences of a Civil War: And plenty grows not to a heighth, but by the ſucceſſion of ſeveral peaceful as well as ſeaſonable years.

The laſt clauſe I will mention, is the mighty enlargement of the City of *Amſterdam*, by that which is called the *New Town*; the extent whereof is ſo ſpacious, and the Buildings of ſo much greater beauty and coſt than the old, that it muſt have employ'd a vaſt proportion of that Stock which in this City was before wholly turned to Trade. Beſides, there ſeems to have been growing on for theſe later years, a greater vie of Luxury and Expence among many of the Mer-

chants

chants of that Town, than was ever formerly known; which was observed and complained of, as well as the enlargement of their City, by some of the wisest of their Ministers, while I resided among them, who designed some regulations by sumptuary Laws; as knowing the very Foundations of their Trade would soon be undermined, if the habitual Industry, Parsimony, and Simplicity of their People, came to be over-run by Luxury, Idleness, and Excess. However it happen'd, I found it agreed by all the most diligent and circumspect enquiries I could make, that in the years 69 and 70, there was hardly any forreign Trade among them, besides that of the *Indies*, by which the Traders made the returns of their money without loss; and some, by which the common gain was above two or three in the hundred. So as it seems to be with Trade, as with the Sea (its Element) that has a certain pitch, above which it never

never rises in the highest Tides; and begins to ebb as soon as ever it ceases to flow; and ever loses ground in one place, proportionably to what it gains.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of their Forces and Revenues.

THE Strength and Forces of a Kingdom or State were measured in former Ages by the numbers of Native and Warlike Subjects, which they could draw into the Field upon any War with their Neighbours. National quarrels were decided by National Armies, not by ſtipendiary Forces (raiſed with Money, or maintained by conſtant Pay.) In the ſeveveral Kingdoms and Principalities of *Europe*, the Bodies of their Armies were compoſed, as they are ſtill in *Poland*, of the Nobility and Gentry, who were bound to attend their Princes to the Wars, with certain numbers of armed men, according to the tenure and extent of the ſeveral Lordships and Lands they held of the Crown: Where theſe were not pro-

por-

portionable to the occasion, the rest were made up of Subjects drawn together by love of their Prince or their Country; by desire of Conquest and Spoils, or necessity of defence, held together by Allegiance or Religion, and spirited by Honour, Revenge, or Avarice (not of what they could get from their Leaders, but from their Enemies.) A Battel or two fairly fought, decided a War; and a War ended the quarrel of an Age, and either lost or gain'd the Cause or Country contended for; till the change of times and accidents brought it to a new decision; till the Vertues and Vices of Princes made them stronger or weaker, either in the love and obedience of their people, or in such orders and customs as render'd their Subjects more or less Warlike or Effeminate. Standing-Forces or Guards in constant Pay, were no where used by lawful Princes in their Native or Hereditary Countrys, but only by Conquerors in subdued Provinces.

vinces, or Usurpers at home; and were a defence only against Subjects, not against Enemies.

These orders seem first to have been changed in *Europe* by the two States of *Venice* and *Holland*; both of them small in Territories at Land, and those extended in Frontier upon powerful Neighbours; both of them weak in number of native Subjects; and those less warlike at Land, by turning so much to Traffick, and to Sea; but both of them mighty in Riches and Trade: which made them endeavour to balance their Neighbours strength in native Subjects, by forreign stipendiary Bands; and to defend their Frontiers by the Arts of Fortification, and strength of places, which might draw out a War into length by Sieges, when they durst not venture it upon a Battel; and so make it many times determine by force of Money, rather than of Arms. This forced those Princes, who frontier'd upon these States, to the same provisions, which

which have been increas'd by the perpetual course of Wars upon the Continent of *Europe*, ever since the rise of this State, until the Peace of the *Pirenees*, between Princes bordering one upon the other; and so, ready for sudden Inroads or Invasions.

The force therefore of these Provinces is to be measur'd, not by the number or dispositions of their Subjects, but by the strength of their Shipping, and standing-Troops, which they constantly maintain, even in time of peace; and by the numbers of both which, they have been able to draw into the Field, and to Sea, for support of a War: by their constant Revenue to maintain the first, and by the temporary charge they have been able to furnish for supply of the other.

I will not enumerate their Frontier-Towns (which is a common Theam,) or the Forces necessary for the Garrisons of them; nor the nature and variety of their Taxes and Impositions, though I have an exact List of them by me, expressing the several kinds, rates, and proportions, upon every Province and Town: but this would swell a Discourse with a great deal of tedious matter, and to little purpose; I shall therefore be content only to observe, what I have informed my self of their Forces and Revenues in general, from persons among them the best able to give that account.

The ordinary Revenue of this State, consists either in what is levied in the conquered Towns, and Country of *Brabant*, *Flanders*,

or the *Rhine*, which is wholly administred by the Counsel of State: or else the ordinary Fonds which the Seven Provinces provide every year, according to their several proportions, upon the Petition of the Counsel of State, and computation of the Charge of the ensuing year, given in by them to the States-General. And this Revenue commonly amounts to about one and twenty Millions of Gilders a year; every Million making about ninty thousand pounds *Sterling*, intrinsick value.

The chief Fonds out of which this rises, is the Excise, and the Customs: The first is great, and so general, that I have heard it observed at *Amsterdam*, that when in a Tavern, a certain Dish of Fish is eaten with the usual Sauce, above thirty several Excises are paid, for what is necessary to that small Service. The last are low and easie, and applied particularly to the Admiralty.

Out of this Revenue, is supplied the charge of the whole Militia, of all publick Officers of the State, and Embassadors or Ministers abroad, and the Interest of about thirteen Millions owing by the States-General.

The standing-Forces in the year 70, upon so general a Peace, and after all Reformations, were twenty six thousand two hundred men, in ten Regiments of Horse, consisting of fifty Troops; and nineteen of Foot, consisting of three hundred and eighty Companies. The constant charge of these Forces stood them

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in six Millions one hundred and nineteen thousand Gilders a year.

Their Admiralties, in time of Peace, maintain between thirty and forty Men of War, employ'd in the several Convoys of their Merchants Fleets, in a Squadron of eight or ten Ships to attend the *Algermes* and other *Corsairs* in the *Mediterranean*; and some always lying ready in their Havens for any sudden accidents or occasions of the State. The common expence of the Admiralties in this Equipage, and the built of Ships, is about six Millions a year.

Besides the Debt of the Generalty, the Province of *Holland* owes about sixty Millions, for which they pay Interest at four in the hundred; but with so great ease and exactness both in Principal and Interest, that no man ever demands it twice: They might take up whatever money they desired. Whoever is admitted to bring in his money, takes it for a great deal of favour; and when they pay off any part of the Principal, those it belongs to, receive it with tears, not knowing how to dispose of it to Interest with such safety and ease. And the common Revenue of particular men, lies much in the Cantores either of the Generalty, or the several Provinces, which are the Registries of these publick Debts.

Of the several Imposts and Excises, those that are upon certain and immovable possessions (as Houses and Lands) are collected by the Magistrates of the several places, and by

them paid into the Receivers, because both the number and value of them are constant, and easily known. Those which arise out of uncertain Consumptions, are all set out to farm, and to him that bids most, some every three months, some every six, and some yearly.

The Collection, Receit, and Distribution of all Publick Moneys, are made without any Fee to Officers, who receive certain constant Salaries from the State, which they dare not increase by any private practises or extortions, so as whoever has a Bill of any publick Debt, has so much ready money in his Coffers, being paid certainly at call, without charge or trouble; and assign'd over in any payment, like the best Bill of Exchange.

The extraordinary Revenue is, when upon some great occasions or Wars, the generality agrees to any extraordinary Contributions; as sometimes the hundredth penny of the Estates of all the Inhabitants; Pole, or Chimney-money; or any other Subsidies and Payments, according as they can agree, and the occasions require; which have sometimes reached so far, as even to an imposition upon every man that travels in the common ways of their Country, by Boat, or in Coach; in Wagon, or on Horseback.

By all these means, in the first year of the *English* War in 1665, there were raised in the Provinces 40 Millions, of which twenty two in the Province of *Holland*. And upon the Bishop of *Munsters* invading them at the same

time

time by Land, they had in the year 66, above threescore thousand Land-men in pay, and a Fleet of above an hundred Men of War at Sea.

The greatness of this Nation at that time, seems justly to have raised the glory of Ours; which during the years 65 and 66, maintained a War, not only against this powerful State, but against the Crowns of *France* and *Denmark* in conjunction with them: and all at a time, when this Kingdom was forced to struggle at home with the calamitous Effects of a raging Plague, that in three months of the first year, swept away incredible numbers of people; and of a prodigious Fire, that in three days of the second, laid in ashes that ancient and famous City of *London* (the heart and center of our Commerce and Riches,) consuming the greatest part of its Buildings, and an immense proportion of its Wealth. Yet in the midst of these fatal Accidents those two Summers were renowned with three Battels of the mightiest Fleets that ever met upon the Ocean; whereof two were determined by entire and unquestion'd Victories, and pursuit of our Enemies into their very Havens. The third having begun by the unfortunate division of our Fleet, with the odds of ninety of their Ships against fifty of ours; And in spight of such disadvantages, having continued, or been renewed for three days together (wherein we were the Aggressors,) ended at last by the equal and mutual

weakneſs or wearineſs of both ſides, the maims of Ships and Tackling, with want of Powder and Ammunition; having left undecided the greateſt action that will perhaps appear upon Record of any Story. And in this Battel, *Monſieur de Wit* confeſt to me, that we gain'd more honour to our Nation, and to the invincible Courage of our Sea-men, than by the other two Victories. That he was ſure, their men could never have been brought on the two following days, after the diſadvantages of the firſt: and he believed no other Nation was capable of it but ours.

I will not judge, how we came to fail of a glorious Peace in the ſix months next ſucceeding, after the fortune of our laſt Victory, and with the honour of the War: But as any rough hand can break a bone, whereas much art and care are required to ſet it again, and reſtore it to its firſt ſtrength and proportion; ſo 'tis an eaſie part in a Miniſter of State, to engage a War; but 'tis given to few to know the times, and find the ways of making Peace. Yet when after the ſenſible events of an unfortunate negligence, an indifferent Treaty was concluded at *Breda* in 67, within ſix months following, by an Alliance with this State in *January* 68, (which was received with incredible joy and applauſe among them,) his Majeſty became the unqueſtioned Arbiter of all the Affairs of Chriſtendom; made a Peace between the two great Crowns at *Aix la Chapelle*, which was avowed by all

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the world to be perfectly his own; and was received with equal applause of Christian Princes abroad, and of his Subjects at home; and for three years succeeding by the unshaken Alliance and Dependance of the United States, his Majesty remained absolute Master of the Peace of Christendom, and in a posture of giving bounds to the greatest, as well as Protection to the weakest of his Neigbours.

CHAP. VIII.

The causes of their Fall in 1672.

IT must be avowed, that as this State in the course and progress of its Greatness for so many years past, has shined like a Comet; so in the Revolutions of this last Summer, it seem'd to fall like a Meteor, and has equally amazed the world by the one and the other: when we consider such a power and wealth as was related in the last Chapter, to have fallen in a manner prostrate within the space of one month: So many frontier Towns, renowned in the Sieges and Actions of the *Spanish* Wars, enter'd like open Villages by the *French* Troops, without defence or almost denial: most of them without any blows at all; and all of them with so few. Their great Rivers that were esteemed an invincible security to the Provinces of *Holland* and *Utrecht*, passed with as much ease, and as small resistances, as little Fords: And in short, the very hearts of a Nation so valiant of old against *Rome*, so obstinate against *Spain*; now subdued, and in a manner abandoning all before their danger appeared: We may justly have our recourse to the secret and fixed periods of all humane greatness, for the account of

of such a Revolution: or rather to the unsearchable Decrees, and unresistable force of Divine Providence; though it seems not more impious to question it, than to measure it by our scare, or reduce the issues and motions of that eternal Will and Power, to a conformity with what is esteemed Just, or Wise, or Good, by the usual consent, or the narrow comprehension of poor mortal men.

But as in the search and consideration even of things natural and common, our talent, I fear, is to talk, rather than to know; so we may be allowed to enquire and reason upon all things, while we do not pretend to certainty, or call that undeniable Truth, which is every day denied by ten thousand; nor those opinions unreasonable, which we know to be held by such as we allow to be reasonable men. I shall therefore set down such Circumstances as to me seem most evidently to have conspired in this Revolution; leaving the causes less discernable, to the search of more discerning persons.

And first, I take their vast Trade, which was an occasion of their Greatness, to have been one likewise of their Fall, by having wholly diverted the Genius of their Native Subjects and Inhabitants from Arms to Traffick, and the Arts of Peace; leaving the whole fortune of their later Wars, to be managed by Forreign and Mercenary Troops; which much abated the courage of their Nation (as was observed in another Chapter,)

and made the Burgers of so little moment towards the defence of their Towns; whereas in the famous Sieges of *Harlem*, *Alcmer*, and *Leyden*, they had made such brave and fierce defences, as broke the heart of the *Spanish* Armies, and the fortune of their affairs.

Next was the Peace of *Munster*, which had left them now for above twenty years, too secure of all Invasions or Enemies at Land; and so turn'd their whole application to the strength of their Forces at Sea; which have been since exercised with two *English* Wars in that time, and enlivened with the small yearly Expeditions into the *Streights* against the *Algerines* and other *Corsairs* of the *Mediterranean*.

Another was their too great Parsimony in reforming so many of their best Forreign Officers and Troops, upon the Peace of *Munster*; whose Valour and Conduct had been so great occasions of inducing *Spain* to the Counsels and Conclusions of that Treaty.

But the greatest of all others that concurr'd to weaken, and indeed break the strength of their Land Milice, was the alteration of their State, which happen'd by the *Perpetual Edict* of *Holland* and *West-Friezland*, upon the death of the last Prince of *Orange*, for exclusion of the Power of Stadt-holder in their Province, or at least the separation of it from the Charge of Captain-General. Since that time, the main design and application of those Provinces, has been to work out by degrees

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all the old Officers both Native and Forreign, who had been formerly ſworn to the Prince of *Orange*, and were ſtill thought affectionate to the Intereſt of that Family; and to fill the Commands of their Army with the Sons or Kinſmen of Burgomaſters, and other Officers or Deputies in the State, whom they eſteemed ſure to the Conſtitution of their popular Government, and good enough for an Age where they ſaw no appearance of Enemy at Land to attaque them.

But the humour of Kindneſs to the young Prince, both in the People and Army, was not to be diſſolved or diſperſed by any Medicines or Operations either of Rigor or Artifice; but grew up inſenſibly with the Age of the Prince, ever preſaging ſome Revolution in the State, when he ſhould come to the years of aſpiring, and managing the general affections of the people: being a Prince, who joyned to the great Qualities of his Royal Blood, the popular Vertues of his Country; Silent and Thoughtful; given to Hear, and to Enquire; of a ſound and ſteddy Underſtanding; much firmneſs in what he once Reſolves, or once Denies; great induſtry and application to his Buſineſs; little to his Pleaſures: Piety in the Religion of his Country, but with Charity to others; Temperance unuſual to his Youth, and to the Climate; Frugal in the common management

Crevit occulto velut arbor ævo, Fama Marcelli.

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of his Fortune, and yet magnificent upon occaſion: of great Spirit and Heart, aſpiring to the glory of Military actions: with ſtrong ambition to grow Great, but rather by the Service than the Servitude of his Country. In ſhort, a Prince of many Vertues, without any appearing mixture of Vice.

In the *Engliſh* War, begun the year 65, the States disbanded all the *Engliſh* Troops that were then left in their Service, diſperſing the Officers and Souldiers of our Nation who ſtaid with them, into other Companies or Regiments of their own. After the *French* Invaſion of *Flanders*, and the ſtrict Alliance between *England* and *Holland* in 68, they did the ſame by all the *French* that were remaining in their Service. So as the ſeveral Bodies of theſe two Nations, which had ever the greateſt part in the Honour and Fortune of their Wars, were now wholly diſſolved, and their ſtanding-Milice compoſed in a manner all of their own Natives, enervated by the long uſes and arts of Traffique and of Peace.

But they were too great a Match for any of the ſmaller Princes their Neighbours in *Germany*; and too ſecure of any danger from *Spain*, by the knowledge of their Forces as well as Diſpoſitions; and being ſtrictly allied both with *England* and *Sweden*, in two ſeveral Defenſive Leagues, and in one common Tripple Alliance, they could not fore-ſee any danger from *France*, who they thought

thought would never have the Courage or Force to enter the Lists with ſo mighty Confederates; and who were ſure of a Conjunction, whenever they pleaſed, both with the Emperor and *Spain*.

Beſides, they knew that *France* could not attaque them without paſſing through *Flanders*, or *Germany*: they were ſure *Spain* would not ſuffer it through the firſt, if they were backt in oppoſing it, as foreſeeing the inevitable loſs of *Flanders* upon that of *Holland*: and they could hardly believe the paſſage ſhould be yielded by a *German* Prince, contrary to the expreſs Will and Intentions of the Emperor, as well as the common Intereſts of the Empire: So that they hoped the War would at leaſt open in their Neighbours Provinces, for whoſe defence they reſolved to employ the whole Force of their State, and would have made a mighty reſiſtance, if the Quarrel had begun at any others doors but their.

They could not imagin a Conjunction between *England* and *France* for the ruine of their State; for, being unacquainted with our Conſtitutions, they did not foreſee how we ſhould find our Intereſt in it, and meaſured all States by that which they eſteemed to be their Intereſt. Nor could they believe that other Princes and States of *Europe* would ſuffer ſuch an addition to be made to the Power of *France*, as a Conqueſt of *Holland*.

Beſides theſe publick conſiderations, there were others particular to the Factions among them; and ſome of their Miniſters were neither forward nor ſupple enough to endeavour the early breaking or diverting ſuch Conjunctures as threatned them; becauſe they were not without hopes, they might end in renewing their broken Meaſures with *France*, which thoſe of the Commonwealth-Party were more enclin'd to, by foreſeeing the influence that their Alliances with *England* muſt needs have in time towards the reſtoring of the Prince of *Oranges* Authority: And they thought at the worſt, that whenever a pinch came, they could not fail of a ſafe bargain in one Market or other, having ſo vaſt a Treaſure ready to employ upon any good occaſion.

Theſe conſiderations made them commit three fatal oversights in their Forreign Negotiations; for they made an Alliance with *England*, without engaging a Confidence and Friendſhip: They broke their Meaſures with *France* without cloſing new ones with *Spain*: And they reckon'd upon the aſſiſtances of *Sweden*, and their Neighbouring Princes of *Germany*, without making them ſure by Subſidiary Advances, before a War began.

Laſtly, The Prince of *Orange* was approaching the two and twentieth year of his Age, which the States of *Holland* had, ſince their Alliance with his Majeſty in 65, ever pretended, ſhould be the time of advancing him

him to the Charge of Captain-General, and Admiral of their Forces, though without that of Stadtholder. But the nearer they drew to this period, which was like to make a new Figure in their Government, the more desirous some of their Ministers seemed either to decline, or to restrain it. On the other side, the Prince grew confident upon the former Promises, or at least intimations of *Holland*, and the concurring dispositions of the other six Provinces to his Advancement: And his Party, spirited by their hopes, and the great Qualities of this young Prince (now grown ripe for Action and for Enterprise) resolved to bring this point to a sudden decision; against which the other Party prepared and united all their Defences: So as this strong Disease that had been so long working in the very Bowels of the State, seem'd just upon its *Crisis*, when a Conjunction of two mighty Kings brought upon them a sudden and furious Invasion by Land and Sea, at the same time by a Royal Fleet of above fourscore Ships, and an Army of as many thousand men.

When the States saw this Cloud ready to break upon them (after a long belief that it would blow over,) they began not only to provide shelter at home, with their usual vigor; but to look out for it abroad, though both too late. Of the Princes that were their Allies, or concern'd in their danger, such as were afar off, could not be in time; the near-

nearer, were unwilling to ſhare in a danger they were not enough prepar'd for; moſt were content to ſee the Pride of this State humbled; ſome the Injuries they had received from them, revenged; many would have mortified, that would not have them deſtroyed; and ſo all reſolved to leave them to weather the ſtorm as they could for one *Campania*; which they did not believe could go far towards their ruine, conſidering the greatneſs of their Riches, number of their Forces, and ſtrength of their Places.

The State, in the mean time, had increaſed their Troops to ſeventy thouſand men, and had begun to repair the Fortifications of their Frontier-Towns: But ſo great a length of their Country lay open to the *French* Invaſion, by the Territories of *Colen* and *Liege*; and to the Biſhop of *Munſter* (their inveterate Enemy) by *Weſtphalia*, that they knew not where to expect or provide againſt the firſt danger: And while they divided their Forces and endeavours towards the ſecuring of ſo many Garriſons, they provided for none to any purpoſe but *Maſtricht*; which the *French* left behind them, and fell in upon the Towns of the *Rhine*, and the heart of their Provinces.

Beſides, Thoſe Miniſters who had ſtill the direction of Affairs bent their chief application to the ſtrength and order of their Fleet, rather than at their Army: whether more peckt at *England* than *France*, upon the War, and manner of entering into it; or believing

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that a Victory at Sea would be the way to a Peace with this Crown; or hoping their Towns would not fall so fast, but that before three or four were lost, the business at Sea would be decided: or perhaps content that some ill successes should attend the Prince of *Orange* at his first entrance upon the Command of their Armies, and thereby contribute to their Designs of restraining the Authority, while they were forced to leave him the name of Captain-General. This indeed was not likely to fail, considering the ill conconstitution of their old Army, the hasty Levies of their new, and the heigth of the Factions now broken out in the State; which left both the Towns and the Troops in suspence, under whose Banners they fought, and by whose Orders they were to be govern'd, the Princes or the States.

There happen'd at the same time, an accident unusual to their Climate, which was a mighty Drowth in the beginning of the Summer, that left their Waters fordable in places where they used to be navigable for Boats of greatest burthen. And this gave them more trouble and distraction in the defence, as their enemies more facility in the passage of those great Rivers, which were esteemed no small security of their Country.

And in this posture were the Affairs of this Commonwealth when the War broke out, with those fatal Events, that must needs attend any Kingdom or State, where the violence

lence of a forreign Invasion happens to meet with the distracted estate of a Domestick Sedition or Discontent, which, likelill Humors in a Body, make any small wound dangerous, and a great one mortal. They were still a great Body, but without their usual Soul: They were a State, but it was of the *Dis-united Provinces*. Their Towns were without Order, their Burgers without Obedience, their Souldiers without Discipline, and all without heart: Whereas in all Sieges the hearts of Men defend the Walls, and not Walls the Men: and indeed it was the name of *English* joyning in the War against them, that broke their hearts, and contributed more to the loss of so many Towns, and so much Country, than the Armies of *Munster*, or of *France*. So that upon all circumstances consider'd, it seems easier to give an account; what it was that lost them so much, than what sav'd them the rest.

No man at play sees a very great Game either in his own, or anothers hand, unexpected lost, but he is apt to consider, whether it could have been saved, and how it ought to have been play'd. The same enquiry will be natural upon the fall of this State, and very difficult to resolve.

After the mighty growth of the *French*, and decay of the *Spanish* Power, which drew on the Invasion of *Flanders* in 1667, this State had a very hard Game to play; either they

they must see *Flanders* wholly lost, and *France* grown to confine upon them (whom they liked as an Ally, but dreaded as a Neighbour;) or else they must joyn with *France* to divide *Flanders* between them; but they knew what it was to share with the Lion: or they must joyn with *Spain* to defend *Flanders* against *France*; that is, with their old Enemy, against their old Friend: or lastly, they must joyn with *England* for the defence of *Flanders*, neither breaking with *France*, nor closing with *Spain*; and frame an Arbitrage, but of something a rough nature; rather prescribing than mediating a Peace, and threatning a War upon that Crown that refused it.

They chose the last, and wisely, as all men thought: But though this Alliance was happily planted, yet it was unhappily cultivated, [illegible] and so the Fruit came to fall, and the Root to wither upon the first change of seasons, in such a manner, and to such a degree, as we have lately seen. Whether they could have prevented a Conjunction of *England* with *France*, shall be no part of my subject; for I pretend not to know, or to tell secrets of State; and intend these, not for the Observations of an Embassador, but of a private man as I am, and such as any Gentleman might easily have made, who had resided above two years as I did in *Holland*; and had been, as I was, a little inclined to observe. I shall only say, That the Conjunction of

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England with *France*, was to this State like one of thoſe Diſeaſes which the Phyſicians ſay, are hard to diſcern, while they are eaſie to cure; but when once they come to be plainly diſcovered, they are paſt remedy.

But as *Holland* had ever defended it ſelf againſt *Spain* by *England* and *France*; ſo it ought to have done againſt *France*, by *England* and *Spain*, and provided early againſt their own danger, as well as that of *Flanders*, by improving and advancing their Confederate-League with *England* and *Sweden*, into a ſtrict Defenſive-Alliance with *Spain*, as a Principal in the League; and by agreeing with that Crown, to furniſh between them ſome conſtant Subſidiary Payments to *Sweden*, for the ſupport of their ſtanding Forces, even in time of Peace. This was the deſire of *Spain*, the Intereſt of all that meant to ſecure the Peace of Chriſtendom, and the opinion of ſome of the *Dutch* Miniſters, though not of the chiefeſt, till it was too late. And the omiſſion of this, was the greateſt fault ever committed in their Politicks, and proceeded in a great meaſure from their ancient animoſity to *Spain*; which as it was the beginning, ſo, by this effect, it almoſt prov'd the end of their State.

When the War began in the midſt of the Conjunctures related, 'tis hard to ſay what could have defended them: But as men in a Town, threatned with a mighty Siege, abandon their Suburbs, and ſlight thoſe Out-

works

works which are either weak of themſelves, or not well defenſible for want of men; and reſolve only to make good thoſe Poſts which they are able fully to man, and eaſily to relieve; becauſe the loſs of every ſmall Outwork does not only weaken the number; but ſink the courage of the Garriſon within.

So this State, which came to be in a manner beſieged by the mighty and numerous Armies of *France* and of *Munſter*, ought, in my opinion, to have left themſelves but three Outworks to maintain (I mean, three Poſts ſtanding without the Lines, that encloſed the main Body of their Provinces:) Theſe ſhould have been, *Maſtrick*, *Weſel*, and *Coeverden*. They ſhould have ſlighted all the reſt of their places that lay without theſe upon the *Rhine* or in *Overiſſel*; and drawn the men into theſe Towns, ſo as to have left them rather like Camps than Garriſons; that is, eight thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe in *Maſtrick*, as many in *Weſel*, and half the number in *Coeverden*, if the place would contain them; if not, they might have formed and fortified a Camp with ſomething a greater number, upon the next Paſs into *Friezland* and *Groninguen*.

Of the reſt of their Horſe (which were I ſuppoſe about five thouſand, with at leaſt fifteen thouſand Foot, they ſhould have formed a great ſtanding Camp, with their Rivers, ſomewhere near *Arnhem*; fortified it with Cannon, and all the art that could be; furniſh'd

furnish'd it with the greatest care, and plenty of Provisions. The remainder of their Infantry would have been enough for the rest of their Garrisons; of which the Towns upon the *Yssel*, *Doesburgh*, *Zutphen*, *Deventer* and *Swoll*, would have been in a manner flank'd (though at some distance) by the strong Garrisons of *Wesel* and *Cooverden*, and breasted by the main Camp.

If with this disposition of their Forces, they had provided well for the strength and defence of *Stinkscence*, *Nimmeguen*, and *Grave* (which would likewise have lien all within the cover of these out-posts;) they might, for ought I know, have expected the War without losing the heart and steddiness of their Counsels, and not without probability of making a Defence worthy the former Greatness and Atchievements of their

For a Siege of *Mastrick* or *Wesel* (so Garison'd and resolutely Defended) might not only have amused, but endanger'd the *French* Armies, as *Cooverden* might have done that of *Munster*. The resistance of one of these Towns, would have increased the strength of all the rest; for the fortune of Battels and Sieges, turns upon the hearts of men; as they are more or less capable of general Confidences or Feats, which are very much raised by Accidents and Opinions. It would not have been within any common Rules, to march so far into the Country, as to attaque

the

the *Burse* or *Breda*, *Nimmeguen* or *Graw*, leaving such Camps behind as those at *Wesel* and *Maestricht*, and having so much a greater before them, as that about *Arnhem*. If any of these three Posts had been lost, yet it could not have happen'd without good conditions, and so retiring the men to strengthen either the more inward Garrisons, or the main Camp, which would have lien ready to defend the Passes of their Rivers. And if at the worst they had fail'd in this, yet the *French* Army must afterwards, either have attaqued a fortifi'd Camp of twenty th usand men, or left such an Army behind them when they march'd towards *Utrecht*, and into the heart of the Provinces; both of which would have been attempts, that I think have hardly been enterprised with success upon any Invasion.

There seems at least some appearance of Order and Conduct in this scheme of Defence; whereas there was none in the [illegible] but perhaps the greatness of the Temptation from abroad, and of the Factions at home, either broke the heart, or distracted the course of their Counsels. And besides, such old Sea-men in so strong a Ship that had weathered so many storms without loss, could not but think it hard to throw over-board so much of their Lading before this began. After all I know very well, that nothing is so hard to give wise Counsel before Events; and [illegible] so easie, as after them, to make wise

wise Reflections. Many things seem true in Reason, and prove false in Experience: Many that are weakly consulted, are executed with success. Therefore, to conclude, we must all acknowledge, that Wisdom and Happiness dwell with God alone; and among mortal men (both of their Persons and their Estates,) those are the wisest that commit the fewest Follies; and those the happiest that meet with the fewest Misfortunes.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

FINIS.